

# INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 10 No. 38

21<sup>st</sup> August 1930

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berlin SW 68, Lindenstraße 71-72. Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered post: International Press Correspondence, Berlin SW 68, Lindenstraße 71-72. Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Berlin. Telephone: Dönhoff 2856 and 2867.

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## The International Importance of the German Reichstag Elections.

By Heinz Neumann (Berlin).

If for us Communists parliamentary elections are never mere struggles for votes but indicators of the forces in the class struggle, this applies more than ever to the present Reichstag elections in Germany. The election fight which has been called forth by the dissolution decree of the semi-fascist Brüning Government, is in reality a parade of all the fighting class forces, a formation of the social fronts, which is of the greatest importance for the whole future development of Europe.

The whole of Europe, the whole world is watching with strained attention the present election fight in Germany. The toiling masses are groaning under the consequences of the economic crisis and under the burdens of the Young Plan. Germany, which only a few years ago broke the record in regard to bourgeois "stabilisation" and was praised as an outstanding example of the "vitality" of capitalism, is now experiencing the most severe economic and political crisis since the end of the war. The ruling class of Germany, their Ministers, their spokesmen, their lackeys and their newspapers speak of the danger of a collapse of the present social order. A collapse of German capitalism, however, would undoubtedly

mean the end of the whole capitalist stabilisation and would cause a no less profound shaking of world imperialism than that caused by the Bolshevik October Revolution in 1917. Therefore the world bourgeoisie, whose fate is bound up by a thousand threads with the fate of German capitalism, is following with bated breath the course of the class struggle in Germany. The dominating factor in the economic and political development of Germany is the Young Plan. The existence of the German bourgeoisie depends upon whether it will succeed year by year in squeezing on an average 2,000 million gold marks reparation-payments and 1,600 million interest on debt, i. e., a total of 3,600 million marks, out of the blood and sweat, out of the bones and muscles of the toiling masses of Germany, as tribute to foreign capital.

It will soon be six months since the Young Plan came into operation. These six months have already shown that the Young Plan leads to disaster for German economy, to the shaking of the bourgeois class rule, to millions of unemployed, to wage cuts in all branches of industry, to the most frightful impoverishment of the working peasantry, to the ruin of innumerable petty bourgeois in the towns. The resistance of

the toiling masses, the rebellion of the working class, the indignation of the indigent middle strata in town and country are assuming increasingly sharp forms. The Young Plan, which has been in force hardly six months, is now threatened at its very foundations.

The Young Plan is proving to be an insoluble capitalist contradiction threatening to result in a violent explosion. The first victim of this contradiction is bourgeois democracy. The bourgeoisie, from the extreme Rights to their most Left Coalition Party—formerly the Democratic Party—recognise that the Weimar Republic parliamentary democracy is completely incapable of securing the carrying out of the Young Plan and of holding back the threatening advance of the revolution. Therefore, the German bourgeoisie is doing away with the last remnants of the democratic system. Hence it is abrogating the Weimar Constitution by means of the dictatorship paragraph 48. Hence it causes Parliament to be dissolved by President Hindenburg. Hence it is using all its political and organisational power to let loose the fascist tendencies and is arming the National Socialist terrorist bands against the working class.

The overthrow of the Hermann Müller coalition government by finance capital was the first signal for the setting up of the fascist dictatorship. The social democracy with ministerial jobs is to be converted into a social democracy without ministerial jobs in order to proceed all the more ruthlessly against the revolutionary proletariat. The peculiar feature of the fascisation of Germany is that the decisive groups of finance capital, with Hindenburg at the head, are setting up the dictatorship themselves and at the same time making use for this purpose of the social democracy and the fascist bands. For the bourgeoisie the question is not: Fascism or social democracy? but: Fascism with social democracy. Thus there arises the peculiar situation that in the Reich the bourgeois Hindenburg parties are in the government, while in the Prussian Government the same Hindenburg parties share office with the social democracy, and in the Thuringian Government the same Hindenburg parties share office with the National Socialists. All parties in Germany, therefore, with the exception of the Communists, are coalition parties, government parties. All parties in Germany, with the exception of the Communists, are therefore Young Plan parties, who, supported by the government power, fulfil the Young Plan at the cost of the toiling masses.

The German Reichstag elections are a decision of the masses for or against the Young Plan. Therein lies the international importance of the elections. The fascists are attempting to win broad masses by means of the false flag of fight against the Young Plan. They have achieved certain successes lately in their policy. The petty bourgeois masses and that part of the working class who vote for the national socialists, in so doing express not their satisfaction but their dissatisfaction with the existing capitalist society, their hatred and their bitterness against the Young Plan. The strengthening of the fascists, means, however, at the same time a strengthening of the German bourgeoisie, which is carrying out the Young Plan with all means. Therefore the Communist Party is throwing all its energies into the fight against fascism. We are exposing the national demagogic of the Hitler party. We are combating the threatening enslavement and exploitation of the German people by the fascist dictatorship by proving, before all to the toilers in town and country, that the national emancipation of Germany can be accomplished only by the social revolution, by the overthrow of the bourgeoisie in Germany itself. The coming German Soviet Republic will declare the Versailles Peace, the Locarno Treaty, the Young Plan, as well as all the other imperialist treaties, agreements and plans, to be null and void. The German Soviet Republic will not recognise any frontiers that have been drawn without regard to the right of self-determination of the peoples and without the approval of the overwhelming majority of the toilers. The German Soviet Republic, in closest economic and political alliance with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and supported by the brotherly solidarity of the proletariat in the victor States and of the oppressed peoples of the

colonies, will oppose all acts of violence on the part of world imperialism.

The German Reichstag elections are a decision of the masses for or against imperialist war. The policy of the government party, the imperialist policies of Hindenburg and Brüning, Hugenberg and Hitler promote the danger of war in the whole world. The imperialist German bourgeoisie, supported by the social democrats and fascists, is actively taking part in the preparations for an intervention-war against the Soviet Union. We embody the common class struggle of the workers of Germany, France, Poland, Italy and Great Britain against the common enemy—world capital.

The German Reichstag elections are a decision of the masses for or against fascism. Through the whole of Europe there is sweeping a wave of fascist reaction which has been let loose by the ruling classes as their last resort against the radicalisation of the proletariat, against the advance of the socialist revolution. Whilst the fascist dictatorships in Italy, Spain, Latvia and Poland are being shaken by the world economic crisis and the class struggle of the proletariat, new fascist dictatorships have been set up in Yugoslavia, Austria and Finland. In Germany, the greatest industrial State in Europe a fight is raging between fascism and proletarian revolution. The bankrupt bourgeois democracy and its chief representative, the social democratic Party, are in this fight unconditionally on the side of fascism. The Reichstag elections are a trial of strength for the inevitably approaching decisive fight between revolution and fascism in Germany, which will be of the very greatest importance for the future development in the whole of Europe.

The German Reichstag elections are a decision of the masses between Communism and social democracy. They are an important stage in the fight of the Communists for winning the majority of the working class. The social democracy, in the one year and nine months in which it participated in the coalition government, set its approval to the criminal Young Plan, placed enormous burdens upon the working masses and systematically created the pre-conditions for the establishment of a fascist dictatorship. The elections will represent a settling of accounts with the party of Hermann Müller, Seerring and Zörgiebel. They will be an important indication of the radicalisation of the German proletariat, of the advance of the Communist Party.

The German Reichstag elections are, finally, an important decision on the standard of wages of the international proletariat. In Germany, the employers' offensive against the standard of living of the working class for the purpose of carrying out the Young Plan is in full swing. If the German capitalists succeed in reducing the wages of the German proletariat by ten, twenty, thirty and forty per cent, it will mean a powerful incentive to immediate wage cuts in America, Great Britain, France, Italy and all other countries. The predatory character of the Young Plan lies precisely in the fact that its realisation inevitably results in lowering the standard of living of the proletariat, in a threatening of the very existence not only of the German workers but of the workers of all countries.

The world bourgeoisie realises the meaning of the German elections. The French government journalist Sauerwein published in the "Prager Presse" of 12th of August an article entitled "The German Unrest", in which he described the danger of a proletarian revolution in Germany. He declares that, "sickle and hammer will not mean a very agreeable winter for Germany". Sauerwein regrets the decline of the influence of the social democracy on the masses and appeals to all imperialist governments to do their part in order to save the country which, both geographically and politically, is the most sensitive spot in Europe, from violent shakings.

The Communist Party will do everything in order that the German capitalists, these slave-drivers for world capital, shall not be spared any, not even the most "violent" shakings. In this hard fight the German Communists are sure of the support of all Parties of the Communist International, of all class-conscious workers in the whole world.

# The Question of the Relations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

By N. Ossinsky (Moscow).

The relations between the United States and the Soviet Union are experiencing a crisis. The declaration of Comrade **Bogdanov** that the present state of relations could lead to Soviet orders being diverted to other countries and to the cessation of trade between the Soviet Union and the U. S. A., is represented by the foreign bourgeois press as a possible "breaking off" of relations between the two countries. The characteristic feature of the present situation is precisely the fact that, between the Soviet Union and the United States there do not exist any normal and regulated relations. Therein is expressed the extreme confusion, the contradiction and also the ambiguity of the point of view adopted by official circles of America in regard to relations with the Soviet Union.

As is known, President **Wilson**, at the beginning of 1918, sent a message to the Third Soviet Congress in which he assured the Russian people of the friendly feeling of the American nation and promised us help which, owing to objective reasons, he was unable to grant. This message was sent after the legislative organs of the Soviet Republic had carried out the annulment of the foreign debts and the nationalisation of the banks and also of a part of the property belonging to foreigners. The message was addressed to the same authorities who were formally and actually "responsible" for these measures.

Already in the Summer of 1918 the situation underwent a sharp change: The American government began to support the counter-revolutionary movement in our country, took part in the armed intervention, sent troops to Archangelsk and reinforced the Koltchak army in the Far East. And when the intervention was at an end, the Soviet Union found itself confronted with a new attitude on the part of official American circles. Every time the leader of the Foreign policy of the Soviet Union — true to its unalterable principle of preserving peace and establishing good neighbourly relations with all nations — addressed appropriate inquiries to the United States, the reply was always: "We are good friends of the Russian people, but we cannot have anything to do with the present Soviet government which violated all the rules of international law, in that it repudiated foreign debts and nationalised the property of foreign subjects." Thereupon the American government invariably received the following reply: "We are ready to negotiate with you over your claims, but we preserve to ourselves the right to submit our counter-claims and do not wish under any circumstances to accept any preconditions".

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The Soviet Government not only succeeded in repelling the armed intervention, but was also able to recover economically and was very soon in a position to sell Soviet products abroad and to buy foreign goods. No matter what a great temptation it may be to foreign capitalism to get complete economic and political control of the vast territory and the market of our country, if this is impossible of accomplishment, then it must be content with less. It is also advantageous to carry on trade with such a country, even if through the medium of such an unpleasant authority as the People's Commissariat for Trade.

Therefore, as a supplement to the above-mentioned formula, there was gradually added a new: "We cannot and do not wish to recognise the Soviet Union, but we have no objection to trading with it." In order to carry on "trade without recognition" it became necessary to found in America an **American** joint stock company "Amintorg" (it was impossible to found a Soviet trading company). The shares of this company were necessarily under Soviet control. A considerable number of Soviet functionaries had to be sent to America; their presence on the territory of the United States was, however, void of any formal basis. Soviet passes could not be recognised by American Consuls, so that Soviet citizens travelling to America had to describe themselves as people of unknown origin whose identity could not be officially

established. As the Communist Party is in power in the Soviet Union and the most responsible persons on the Russian side who managed the trade between the two States had to be Communists, there arose a further absurdity: people officially forbidden to enter the United States, had in fact to enter the country in accordance with the notorious formula: "Trade without recognition."

The incident with regard to the prohibition to place the Soviet Union railway loan among U. S. A. citizens, even through private channels, the incident relating to the confiscation of Soviet gold, which was almost carried out, showed the whole ridiculousness of the situation; its disadvantages were, it is true, felt in the first place by the Soviet Union. When, however there began the conflict over the Chinese-Eastern Railway, in which the American capitalists displayed an increased interest and by means of which they tried to exert pressure on the Soviet Union, then it transpired that the "non-existing government of the non-existing country" also on its part did not wish to negotiate with the Government of the United States — and this precisely because the American government had hitherto not been inclined to "establish acquaintanceship" with the government which embraces a sixth of the world.

The political absurdities were soon followed by economic absurdities, particularly in recent times. The export of wood and manganese from the Soviet Union to the United States is increasing. The Soviet Union possesses a huge portion of the forest lands of the world which have escaped the depredations of profit-seeking capitalism. Apart from British-India, the Soviet Union possesses the largest manganese deposits in the world. It is quite clear that, after the Soviet Union had returned to normal economic life, a great development of the export of timber and manganese was bound to ensue. These commodities are greatly in demand by the American wood and paper industry and by the American smelting industry. This, however, runs counter to the interests of the American lumber industry, and the feeble American manganese industry, which from the standpoint of the national economy are of much less importance. Under the sacred formula "trade without recognition", i. e., in a situation where there is no certainty in regard to the legal situation as far as the Soviet goods are concerned, any American official, on the instigation of any group of interests, can sabotage trade between the Soviet Union and America.

For this purpose it suffices to trot out the pretext of "convict labour" and to represent the Soviet workers, who are masters of the Soviet Union, as the white slaves of the same Bolshevik government which they themselves have created and support.

Finally, on the other side, this affects the imports from the U. S. A. to the Soviet Union. The honourable gentlemen who permit us to trade with America without recognition and therefore without a solid credit basis for this trade, with the result that we have to pay for everything with cash, thereby compel us, in order to make these cash payments, to sell a more or less corresponding quantity of goods to America. In America they are complaining of Soviet dumping. These complaints are, to put it mildly, exaggerated. No barons of monopoly capitalism will succeed in stopping the Soviet Union from developing its home industry. For that, at any rate, is our own internal affair. And when, in order to realise our Five-Year Plan, we have to expend thousands of millions of roubles on factory equipment, a large part of which comes from abroad, it means that either foreign credits are placed at our disposal in order to prevent the increased development of Soviet export and of Soviet competition, or (what happens today) there is an increase of Soviet exports.

The foreign bourgeois gentlemen ought to have understood long ago that the realisation of the Five-Year Plan necessarily means an increase of Soviet exports. Nevertheless, our learned

foreign "critics", who have been taught by experience, cannot yet grasp this truth. There are of course two alternatives: to divert orders for factory equipment from the USA. to Europe, or to refrain from placing orders abroad and to develop the production of factory equipment to the maximum in the Soviet Union itself. We have become technically and economically so strong that we could adopt the second course, although this would cost us considerably greater efforts than if we adopted the first course. It is clear, however, that in this case, a general restriction of trade on the part of the Soviet Union with the bourgeois world would be inevitable. In reality it means for the bourgeois countries the complete loss of the Soviet market, of the former Russian market. And it is already clear today that this loss would be a severe blow both to American and European industry.

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What are the immediate causes of the present crisis of "Soviet-American relations"? Without doubt they are: 1. The worsening of the position of American industry, due to the economic crisis, and, in connection therewith, the efforts of certain branches of industry to get rid of the "competing" Soviet imports; 2. The increasing discontent of the working masses and the growth of the Communist movement in the USA.—both of them also due to the economic crisis. These circumstances give rise to particular anxiety in the ranks of the yellow trade unions, who fear a defeat by the American Communists. Precisely for this reason the chief instigators of the present anti-Soviet campaign in the USA. are, on the one hand, the heads of the timber industry, the owners of manganese mines, the coal mine owners etc. and, on the other side, Mr. Matthew Woll, together with the heads of the American political police.

We can at present indubitably record in the first place an enormous growth of the trade turnover between the Soviet Union and the USA., with the prospect of a possible still further growth. This fact sharply raises the question of transferring Soviet-American trade to the normal basis of usual international economic relations. "Trade without recognition" on this scale is impossible. Secondly, the increase of the foreign political strength of the Soviet Union is of fundamental importance: the Soviet Union is a great Power with whom the bourgeois politicians are compelled to reckon. The Soviet Union can thwart any tricks on the part of bourgeois diplomacy. This is becoming ever clearer both to our bourgeois "friends", and in particular to the enemies of the Soviet Union in the USA. It is palpably clear that the latter, in the given circumstances, must strain all their forces in order to stop—if that is at all possible—the inexorably approaching change.

Wherein lies this inevitable change? Precisely in that which American government circles have for ten years evaded: the establishment of normal diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. The establishment of such relations lies in the interests of the American bourgeoisie themselves; it is fully in accordance also with the principles of our policy, which is directed towards the peaceful co-existence of two different economic systems. Only the establishment of such relations is capable of securing to American industry an increasing number of Soviet orders, the importance of which the American machine-tool making industry, the American tractor factories etc. are thoroughly convinced. And only the establishment of such relations is capable of securing to the American wood-working industry, the paper industry, the metal industry and other important branches of industry the regular supply of qualitatively high-grade and cheap Soviet raw materials. It does not require any great amount of common sense and logical thought in order to understand that all these things are to bourgeois America of no less, and perhaps even more, importance than to the Soviet Union.

Finally, the American workers are interested in the establishment of normal diplomatic relations. The scourge of unemployment in the USA. calls for the creation of favourable preconditions for the placing of orders by the Soviet Union. Hence there arises the ever more insisted demand of the American workers for a settlement of relations with the Soviet Union.

Bourgeois America must also bear two things in mind. Firstly, the development of Soviet-American trade must, after

the settlement of the diplomatic side of the question, necessarily be based upon a broad development of credit. If the Americans do not like the all-round increase of our exports, then they have only one protective measure, i. e., credits. It has become evident that not only the military, political or goods blockade directed against our growing socialist country but also the credit blockade is simply incapable of realisation and has consequences harmful to all those who seek to employ it, but not to those against whom it is employed.

We are of the opinion that the question of "recognition" is no longer on the agenda, that this is an obsolete question. Those who up to the year 1930, in the 13th year of our existence, have not come to recognise the Soviet Union—from them we do not need any official sanctioning of our international legal position. We have won this ourselves in brilliant political and economic fights. In the relations between us and the USA., the only question can be the establishment of diplomatic relations: nothing more and nothing less. It is not as if one can "sanction" the other. Neither party can submit preconditions. Thus and only thus is the question to be put.

## HANDS OFF THE CHINESE SOVIETS

### Soviet Revolution and War of the Generals in China.

By Chieh u.a.

In addition to the Soviet revolution of the workers and peasants and the advance of the Red Army in China, which are directed against the whole counter-revolution, against the native big landowners and big bourgeoisie and the foreign imperialists, there is also taking place the war of the Kuomintang generals in North China. One battle follows another, in which tanks and bombing planes and even poison gas are employed.

The wars of the generals, which never before raged so furiously as at present, are not only an expression of the fights over the division of the spheres of power of the various generals and the split up condition of the ruling class of China, but they also reflect the antagonistic interests, which are becoming more and more acute, of the imperialist powers in China.

The Chiang Kai-shek government, behind which there stands the imperialism of the United States, cannot pay so much regard to the interests of the Japanese and the British imperialists, as the latter would like, so that they have no other course than to make use of the lackey services of the Kuomintang generals of North China.

Simultaneously with their fierce fighting these generals are now endeavouring to form a government in North China as a counter-weight to the Nanking government. The out-of-work Kuomintang politicians of the type of Wan-Chin-wei are being used as advertisements for the new government. The formation of a government in North China will in all probability come about only gradually. A Northern government would mean an intensification of the war as a result of its better financing by means of the income derived from the customs duties and by means of foreign loans.

The present fights of the generals are no longer half fights and half negotiations as they were formerly, but big battles in which over 200,000 men are engaged and extend over a fighting front of more than 1000 kilometres. The scene of the war is in particular the provinces of Honan and Shantung. Chiang Kai-shek's troops are being opposed by Feng Yu Hsiang troops on the Lünghai railway line in Honan, and by the troops of Yen Shi San on the Tientsin-Puckow and Kantchow Hsinang lines in the province of Shantung. In spite of all the assertions of Chiang Kai-shek that he will soon settle his enemies, there is no hiding the fact that he is in no way superior to them. Already in these fights over 100,000 men have been killed on both sides. In his interview with the foreign press Chiang Kai-shek said: "For our army victory does not mean capturing territory, but annihilating the enemy." It is estimated that the cost of the upkeep of the troops of the Northern generals amounts to over 10 million Mexican dollars a month. The cost of the troops of Chiang

Kai-shek and of the other provinces amounts to over 30 million dollars a month. These enormous sums are squeezed out of the Chinese people.

The conduct of the war has been rendered difficult not only by the lack of finances but also by the lack of human material caused by the enormous losses. Both sides have sent every available man to the front and have even sent raw recruits into the field. Chiang Kai-shek is recruiting soldiers in every town. Yen Shi-san has even sent police troops to the front. Feng Yu Hsiang compels the big districts to supply 4000 men and the small districts 2000 men for the purpose of conducting the war.

The mercenary troops of the generals' armies remain for months without pay and are even sent hungry into the field. The severely wounded are left to die on the battlefield without receiving any aid, as the generals think that it is cheaper to recruit fresh soldiers than to heal and restore wounded. Mutinies, insubordination, desertions by the soldiers are the order of the day. The shortage of money and the mutinies are accelerating the collapse of the armed forces of the generals.

In addition to the political crisis there prevails an unprecedented economic crisis. Transport by water and land is to the greater part at a standstill; the closing down of works and factories is a general phenomenon in the industrial towns. At the commencement of this year 70 silk mills were closed in Shanghai alone. In the Southern provinces, over 4000 big factories were recently closed down. The factories and works which are still continuing operations are working only 3 or 5 days a week. The number of the unemployed is growing constantly. The depreciation of the silver currency by 40 per cent enables the imperialists still further to exploit and rob the working population. China, which is known as a rice-producing country, is suffering from a shortage of this cereal owing to the ruin of peasant agriculture, so that rice has to be imported. The rice crisis is assuming a very acute form. Owing to the terrible increase in the price of rice, which in many districts has risen by 30 or 40 per cent, furious riots are breaking out among the workers and peasants. The workers are demanding an extra rice allowance as a supplement to their wages and the peasants are plundering the rice stores of the big landowners.

Terrible famine prevails not only in the Northern provinces such as Shansi and Kansu, but also partly in other provinces. The population affected by the famine numbers about 70 million. According to the figures of the relief expeditions sent to combat the famine, in Shansi in 29 districts of the province 40 per cent, of the population have died of starvation, in 28 districts 25 per cent, in 15 districts 17 per cent and in 20 districts 11 per cent of the population.

The economic and political crisis in China, which is becoming more and more acute, has proved the incapability to the ruling class to find a way out of the impasse. The millions of workers and peasants, the sole bearers of the Chinese revolution, are endeavouring to find a way out of this need and misery. The Chinese revolution, which bears a bourgeois-democratic character and whose tasks still remain unfulfilled owing to the treachery of the national bourgeoisie, is entering on a new phase, the phase of the agrarian revolution under the leadership of the proletariat against imperialism and the feudalist regime, against the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, for the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants in the form of Soviets as the precondition to its conversion into the social revolution.

After the defeat of the Canton rebellion, the Chinese revolution, in spite of the united front of the landowners, the bourgeoisie and world imperialism and in the face of many difficulties, still carried the Soviet banner forward to new successes.

Everywhere in the South and Central provinces the revolutionary peasants are engaged in a struggle. The flags of the Soviet power are already waving in the villages and towns. After having twice captured Changsha, which meant a great step forward for the social revolution, the Red Army, supported by the revolutionary working and peasant masses, directed its attention to the towns of Wuchang, Hankow and Hanyang, situated in the centre of China and forming together

the town of Wuhan. One can say that Wuhan has long been encircled on all sides by Soviet districts. In the province of Hupeh, in which Wuhan is situated, already seven corps of the Red Army are carrying on the fight. With the exception of the 9th and 10th corps in the Northwest district, all corps are advancing from all sides on Hankow. The surrounding territory is already in the hands of the Soviets.

The Soviet regions already existing embrace a population of over 60 million. The Soviet movement has spread from the South of China to the North. The Red Army has now grown from 14 corps numbering 100,000 men, to 21 corps. In the South of the province of Kiangsu there are five district Soviets. It was here that the 15th corps of the Red Army was formed. In the Northwest of the province of Chili the 19th corps has been formed in 3 Soviet districts to the East of Peking. In the South of this province the Soviet Power exists in five districts in which are the 20th and 21st corps of the Red Army.

In view of the increasingly concentrating Soviet Power, due to the growth of the Soviet territory in the South of China, the revolutionary workers and peasants, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, decided to make the necessary preparations for the establishment of a Soviet Government in one or a number of provinces. The Presidium of the Congress of the Soviet Districts, which met at the end of May last, in view of the rapid growth of the social revolution, issued a manifesto in the middle of July for the convention of a Soviet Congress of workers and peasants and soldiers Soviets for the whole of China on the 7th of November. At this Congress the question of the establishment of the Central power of the Soviets will be exhaustively dealt with.

While the agrarian revolution in the rural districts is making rapid headway, the labour movement in the towns is also growing, which means a strengthening of the leadership of the whole revolutionary movement in China by the working class. Since last year the labour movement has slowly recovered from the depression. In the year 1928 the number of strikers was 400,000; in 1929 this figure had increased to 750,000. The fights of the workers have developed from the defensive to the offensive. Every economic fight becomes rapidly converted into a political fight. In almost every fight it has come to armed collisions with the police. In all the big towns, such as Shanghai, Hankow and Hong-kong, workers' defence corps are being founded in preparation for an armed revolt. The preparation of the "fourth insurrection" in Shanghai (in the great Chinese revolution three insurrections took place in Shanghai) has become the general slogan of the workers of this town. The workers' defence corps in Shanghai were already formed in April and in all fights formed the shock troops of the revolutionary workers against the police.

The Communist Party has set itself the task of strengthening its leadership in the workers' struggles and winning the broad masses of the working class for the red trade unions. The victorious strike of the tramway workers in Shanghai was due only to the determined leadership of the red trade unions.

On the 16th of July, anti-generals war day in China, and on the 1st of August thousands of workers demonstrated in all the big towns with red flags in spite of police terror, whereby it came to street fighting. All this shows that the workers in China are determined to break the white terror by tenacious fight.

With the upsurge of the revolution there is taking place at the same time an increase in the bloody suppressive measures of the counter-revolution. The Kuomintang regime, which is occupied with the war with the generals and perceives its difficult situation, is endeavouring with all means to choke the revolutionary movement in blood.

The advance of the revolution has not only caused the ruling class, the Kuomintang reaction, to tremble, but also the international imperialist Powers perceive with great anxiety the red danger. The victorious advance of the Red Army in China was immediately followed by the cry of the imperialist States, such as the U.S.A., Great Britain and Japan, for joint intervention.

The warships and gunboats of the imperialists are proceeding up the Yangtse river to the most im-

on its banks. The bombardment of Yochow, Changsha and other red towns has revealed the brutality of the robber-imperialist States and opened a direct war against the Chinese revolution.

The world proletariat must clearly see that the Chinese revolution is not only a revolution against the Nanking bourgeoisie, but also against world imperialism. The victory of the Chinese revolution must be achieved by the overthrow of the ruling classes and by the defeat of world imperialism. The workers of all countries must realise that the Chinese revolution is also directed against their enemy. The victory of the Chinese revolution means also the victory of the world proletariat just as the defeat of the Chinese revolution is also its defeat. The world proletariat must energetically support their working brothers in China who are now engaged in a fierce fight. In order to prevent the bloody doings of the imperialists in China the workers must develop a revolutionary fight in their own countries. Only by strengthening the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries will it be possible to prevent the robber-campaign of the imperialists and to hold up the warships proceeding to China.

The victory of Soviet China cannot be achieved by the revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers of China alone, but must be won by the common fight of the revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers of all countries.

## POLITICS

### The Mass Strike against the Social Insurance Law in France.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

Since the 28th of July about 100,000 workers have been on strike against the fascist social insurance law. During this time the revolt of the workers against this fraudulent enslaving law has fluctuated in various respects. In the Somme district, in St. Quentin and in the district of Rouen, the strikers returned to work, some defeated, some with a wage increase of 6 per cent, as is the case in the Rouen district. On the other hand, the fight has spread considerably in North France.

On the 5th of August, about 120,000 workers were on strike in the district between Armentieres-Lille-Roubaix-Tourcoing and Halluin. In the whole of the textile industry in this area the strike is general, so that at the present time, apart from resumption of work by an insignificant part of the workers, mostly Belgians, who have been misled by the reformist leaders, there are close on 150,000 working men and women on strike.

Isolated movements are also beginning in other more remote districts as St. Die, (Vosges), in La Rochelle, in the metal industry of the Ardennes, in the glove factory of Millau etc. According to statistics published by "Humanité", there were in the course of July, without reckoning the numerous demonstrations in the factories, altogether 183,000 strikers in 562 enterprises. The almost unanimous participation of the workers in this movement is due to the circumstance that the coming into force of the new law coincided with the rapid increase in the cost of living, which can be illustrated by the fact that the price of bread, such an important item of food for the French worker, rose from 1.90 to 2.35 Francs per kilogramme. At the head of this counter-offensive there stand the textile workers with 178 mills on strike; they are followed by the metal workers with 177 undertakings on strike.

A great number of these small strike movements ended in a success for the workers: increase of wages by 15 to 35 centimes per hour, payment of the social insurance contributions by the employers etc.

In Rouen and the neighbourhood, where the textile industry predominates, the fight has been especially bitter. In this district there prevailed a regular state of siege. The police and hence farmer made their way into the courtyards of the Americanelements. Here the workers displayed a wonderful Soviet Urit. In Barentin and Pavilly collisions occurred in

which barricades of pavement stones were erected as a protection against the bullets of the gendarmerie.

The reasons of the semi-failure of the strike are the following: 1. Complete lack of an organisation of textile workers, whom our trade unions have not managed to get hold of, 2. the abominable attitude of the social fascists as for example of the mayor of Elbouef, who prohibited collections on behalf of the strikers in the streets, 3. the sabotage of the oppositional leaders of the Rouen textile and dock workers. The leader of the latter, M. Engler, managed to break the fighting spirit of the dock workers by calling a 24-hour strike which was totally unprepared and which in no way harmed the employers, but on the other hand exercised a disintegrating, demoralising influence upon the whole of the workers as a result of the resumption of work by the dockers, who could have been a tower of strength in the struggle. Nevertheless the fighting spirit of the workers was so strong that the employers were compelled to grant a six per cent wage increase.

In the textile industry of the Somme district, where there had been no movement of the working masses since 1920, mass demonstrations occurred daily. Here the manoeuvres of the reformists, which were supplemented by the political mistakes of our comrades, brought about the end of the strike.

Of the very greatest importance, however, is undoubtedly the powerful strike in the North. Here there is taking place a fierce fight between the social fascists and ourselves for influence over the mass of the workers, numbering several hundred thousand. The reformist leaders, who hitherto held undisputed sway in this district, perceive that their authority is becoming weaker under our blows and are therefore making frantic and incredible efforts in order to discredit our action. The fighting will of the workers however is so strong, that as a result of our uninterrupted agitation, they spontaneously follow our slogans. Thus for instance, the Lille textile workers went on strike almost unanimously on 26th of July, whilst it was not until the day following that the reformist union deemed it necessary to call a general strike in order not to lose contact with the masses. The same thing occurred in Roubaix-Tourcoing: when the unitary trade unions issued the strike slogan for 1st of August and several thousand workers left the factories, the social democratic leaders saw no way out than, two days later, to issue the call for a general strike which had already broken out.

In the Lille metal industry the representatives of the employers and the leaders of the reformist unions had twice concluded compromise agreements but on both occasions the agreements were repudiated by meetings of the rank and file of the union. The organ of the Comité des Forges, "Bulletin Quotidien" wrote indignantly: "This episode proves, like all the strike movements of the Northern district, not the strength but the weakness of the leaders of the reformist trade union federation who only command their members by following in their rear".

When the leaders of the reformist C. G. T. and of the Belgian Trade Union Federation instructed their followers a few days ago to resume work in those undertakings where the employers had granted minimum wage increases, these instructions were entirely ignored. The bourgeois press was surprised and enraged, as it had firmly reckoned that the reformists would secure the recognition of the law.

These are facts of enormous importance which completely upset the structure of social peace and of arbitration awards so skilfully erected by Jouhaux, Lebas and Co. Does this mean, however, that the Communists have already won the masses who are under the influence of the reformists and that the latter have no further possibility of carrying out their manoeuvres? No, the influence of the social democracy on the workers of North France is still strong. We have not succeeded in forming any fighting committees in the big enterprises, nor were we capable of realising the independent leadership of the fight by the masses themselves. There exist alongside of the strike committees formed by the reformist trade union members strike committees in which there are only a few unorganised workers and still fewer reformist trade union members united with our unitary trade union comrades.

It is only by exerting the greatest efforts that we are managing to overcome the passivity of the strikers. It is true, we have succeeded for the first time since 1921 in organising

Bourges which arrested strikers were released by their Firstly, in the hands of the police. On 27th July a battle developed in the streets of Rouen, in

street demonstrations in Roubaix-Tourcoing, but they embraced only a small minority of the strikers. The fighting spirit in this district, which appeared to be dead, has been revived, and that is an important achievement. This fight has not yet however assumed the form of big direct actions of the masses as demanded by the present situation.

The social fascist leaders and their press are conducting a dirty campaign of slander against our Party, and are even going so far as to assert that our comrades are receiving money from the union of the textile employers. And all this solely in order to maintain their influence, which is beginning to wane. They are making particular efforts to conceal the political character of the fight. They are repeating a hundred times a day, that the social insurance law is excellent and that the workers wish to observe it. M. Leon Blum attempted in a series of articles in "Populaire", marked by the most revolting hypocrisy, to justify the necessity of the workers' contributions.

The working masses of North France have followed instinctively our call to fight against the law, but we have not yet got the leadership of the movement. In such circumstances it is possible that the social fascists will succeed, by their undermining work, in breaking the fighting front. Nevertheless our influence will have greatly increased and we are bound to achieve similar results, as for instance in the Somme district, in Rouen and St. Quentin, where we have recruited several thousands of new workers into the ranks of the unitarian trade unions. In any event it is significant that in Lille 5000 workers marched past the party premises of the social democracy shouting out "United front!", and that the French and Belgian textile workers in the frontier district refused to join a so-called "Red guard" which their reformist leaders tried to form for the purpose of supporting the police in the fight against the Communists.

For the rest the resistance to the law is not confined to the fight in North France. The resistance to the law is further stimulated by the daily increasing prices of food and the mass dismissals already announced in the automobile industry. We are only in the first stages of powerful labour struggles. Our chief weakness, which it is necessary to overcome, is that we have not succeeded in making use of the great excitement prevailing in the whole country for the purpose of supporting the 150,000 strikers in North France by other thousands of strikers. The decisions of the last meeting of our Central Committee regarding persevering mass work must be carried out in actual practice, and the united front must be realised already in the preparation for the new inevitable struggles.

## AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

### The Fight of the Iraqi Masses against the Treaty with Great Britain.

By J. B. (Jerusalem.)

On the 30th of June 1930 a Treaty of "alliance" between Great Britain and Iraq was signed in Baghdad by the British High Commissioner appointed by MacDonald, Sir Francis Humphreys and the Prime Minister of Iraq, Nuri Pasha Said, which is to replace the former pacts concluded in 1922 and 1926. The signing of this treaty was preceded by a severe government crisis in Iraq lasting, with short pauses, over two years. The reason of this crisis was that there was no government claiming in any way to represent the population of Iraq which would have considered the British treaty conditions as acceptable. This was the reason of the overthrow of the concentration Ministry of Djaafer Pasha el-Askaris, why his follower, Muhsin Bek el-Saachuc, shot himself as a protest against the British demands, and why the "concentration" Ministry formed at the beginning of this year also fell. The intensification of the economic crisis and the growing symptoms of a profound ferment among the city population and among the small peasants caused the British Commissioner, in the Spring of this year, to resort to measures of violence. With the aid of King Feisal, supported by British bayonets, a dictatorial "government" was set up, at the head of which was

the old ally of the English and the friend of Feisal, General Nuri Pasha Said. The latter first sent the inconvenient Parliament home, suppressed all opposition papers, closed the nationalist clubs and then hastened to sign the so-called new Anglo-Iraq Treaty submitted to him by the British High Commissioner.

This treaty means: 1, enslavement of Iraq to Great Britain for the next 27 years (the Pact is to come into force "after the admission of Iraq into the League of Nations in 1932" and is to be valid for 25 years). 2. A not unimportant part of the imperialist preparations for war and for suppression of the Indian revolution. This real content of the Treaty is hardly concealed by a number of unessential points pretending to grant equality of rights: entry of Iraq into the League of Nations, withdrawal of the British infantry troops from Iraq in 1937, establishment of friendly relations between England and Iraq. The main points of the Treaty show its actual character. The Iraq State is pledged, in the event of war or a threat of war, to place its whole territory, its means of transport and its army, immediately at the disposal of the British General Staff. The latter shall, by training of officers, sending of instructors, supplying technical forces etc., possess the exclusive privilege of controlling the Iraq army. In addition, two of the two most important strategical points of the country (Basra in the South and to the West of Mosul in the North) a military air base of the British troops is to be established, which shall be maintained by the Iraq government. The British Ambassador in Baghdad shall have special privileges. The Iraq government shall appoint only British specialists and advisers in its service, and the king of Iraq "requests" that a British military mission be sent.

Even if the government of Nuri Pasha attempted to conceal the true content of this enslaving Pact with phrases regarding the recognition contained in it of the independence of Iraq, even if the circles round MacDonald would very much like to make out that here at last, after the going over to the terrorist and bloody methods in India and Egypt, there is a magnanimous gift of the Labour Government to the people of Iraq, nevertheless the latter (not even the big bourgeois parties) are not falling into the swindle. A fierce agitation has set in in the whole country against the treaty. The abolition of the freedom of assembly and of the press does not suffice in order to throttle the voices of protest coming from all corners of the country. The national socialists, who are undergoing a regrouping under the leadership of Musahim el-Badshadi (who has repeatedly declared himself an irreconcilable opponent of any agreement with England and recently even declared himself in favour of orientation towards the U. S. S. R.), and Jassimal Haschimi, (who, after having repeatedly participated in coalition governments, has been driven into sharp opposition owing to the fact that the most elementary demands of the Iraqi bourgeois national socialists are totally disregarded in the Anglo-Iraq Treaty), have issued the slogans of fiercest fight against the Treaty, resistance to the dictatorship government, and full and real independence of Iraq. They are considering the boycott of the approaching elections to the Iraqi Parliament, which Nuri Pasha is calling in order to ratify the treaty, as well as proclaiming passive resistance and refusal to pay taxes.

With regard to the last item, this has already been partly anticipated by the spontaneous movement of the people. As a result of the serious, and in fact disastrous, economic situation, various small peasant districts in Central and North Iraq have refused to bear any longer the heavy burden of taxation. After they had driven away the tax collectors it came to serious collisions between punitive troops of the government and the excited fellahs and bedouins; the Baghdad papers report numerous killed and wounded. As in 1924 and 1925, the government is again forced to rely upon the intervention of the British Royal Air Force in order to bombard the villages with bombs and reduce them to submission.

On the other hand, the anti-imperialist movement in the towns and the fight against MacDonald's enslaving Pact, against the government of the British agents, Feisal and Nuri Said, is becoming a fresh link in the chain of revolutionary mass actions extending from India over Arabia to Egypt, which are seriously shaking the British Empire and its social imperialist lackeys.

## Letters from Egypt.

By P. Ch. (Cairo).

### II.

#### The Egyptian Bourgeoisie and the National-Revolutionary Movement.

The Egyptian bourgeoisie is still very young and forms only a small fraction of the total population of Egypt. Its rise occurred at the time when first France, and then England established themselves in Egypt in order to exploit its natural wealth and, by dominating the country, to secure control of the Suez Canal, the most important sea route to the Far East. From the cultural point of view the short period of French domination has had far more lasting effect than the occupation of Egypt by England. This French influence still exists to-day and had a great effect on the national independence movement in its first stages.

Sociologically the Egyptian bourgeoisie is a mixture of the old feudal big landowners with the city intelligentsia, which has been greatly increasing in influence in the last few decades. In addition to this stratum, a city petty bourgeoisie has developed, which is numerically considerable stronger than the big bourgeoisie. The Egyptian bourgeoisie has no mass basis among the population. On the other hand, it controls the most important means of power of the State, the military and the police, and is supported by the European bourgeoisie who dominate Egyptian industry. Politically the bourgeoisie is led by the Itheists (feudal big landowners) and by the liberal constitutionalists (city intelligentsia).

The Egyptian petty bourgeoisie, the political leadership of which is in the Wafd, has, on the other hand, a broad basis among the Egyptian population, above all among the Fellahs. The driving force of the petty bourgeoisie is the student youth, which in the various stages of the independence movement has always played the leading role.

Under the pressure of the British occupation, before all however as a result of the ruthless exploitation of Egypt during the world war, a growing anti-imperialist tendency developed among the Egyptian people in the first post-war years, which tendency found its expression in an ever increasing anti-England feeling. This development gave a revolutionary character to the national independence movement which set in again after the world war. The struggle for Egyptian national independence has become a struggle against British imperialism. In March 1919 the national revolutionary movement reached a high point. In the course of this movement great strike struggles took place, in which the labour organisations actively participated for the first time; collisions with the occupation troops occurred and in various towns even revolutionary provisional governments were formed.

A second high point of the independence movement, which however was at the same time the starting point for a political new orientation of the Egyptian bourgeoisie, was witnessed in the year 1924, which is generally designated as the year of the "rule of the bourgeoisie". In this year the first elections to the Egyptian Parliament took place, resulting in an overwhelming victory for Zaghlul Pasha, the leader of the Wafd. The Egyptian big bourgeoisie, under the leadership of the Liberals, was able to gain only a few seats. With the taking over of government responsibility by the Wafd a new stage commenced for the Egyptian bourgeoisie.

The negotiations with the British government, which were commenced by Zaghlul Pasha and then continued by his friends and most bitter enemies (Mahomed Mahmoud), show that there no longer exist any differences in principle between the two groups. Nahas Pasha, Zaghlul's successor to the leadership of the Wafd, who as Prime Minister wished to conclude the Treaty with Great Britain, prepared by his most bitter opponent Mahomed Mahmud together with Henderson, had already arrived at an understanding in principle with the Labour Government on all Egyptian questions. The question of signing the treaty was only a question of time, when suddenly the increasing radicalisation, caused by the intensification of the economic crisis, on the part of the working class and of the peasantry, and the growing unrest among the petty bourgeoisie strata compelled Nahas Pasha to carry out a tactical turn. Negotiations were broken off for the time being and some months later the Wafdist were in opposition.

Contrary to former inner-political struggles for power, the question of the relations to the British imperialists is now relegated to the background. At any rate attempts are being made on both sides to create this impression. It is obvious however that the present dictatorship government is making common cause with British imperialism, whilst on the other hand Nahas Pasha is repeatedly insisting on his friendly relations with MacDonald and Henderson and again and again to declaring his readiness to resume negotiations with the agents of British imperialism.

These tactics of the Wafdist leaders could however not prevent the growing anti-imperialist development among the toiling population of Egypt. Nor will the present opposition of the Wafdist leaders and their struggle for the "saving of the Constitution", which according to the Wafdist is at the same time a struggle for Egypt's emancipation, but in reality is a fresh deception of the toiling population, be able to check this development.

If we draw a balance, in regard to the role so far played by the Egyptian bourgeoisie, in the Egyptian movement for independence, it must be stated that, besides the Egyptian big bourgeoisie, the leaders of the oppositional petty bourgeoisie have also long abandoned the anti-imperialist policy and are not only seeking an understanding with imperialism but in addition are conducting their own imperialist policy, which in home politics is beginning to assume ever sharper forms of an anti-proletarian policy.

This development in the camp of the Egyptian bourgeoisie, has not only of necessity destroyed the national revolutionary united front of the anti-imperialist bourgeoisie with the toiling population, which was set up in the March revolution 1919, but has also led to a contradiction, assuming ever sharper forms, between the bourgeoisie and the class-conscious working class, which is numerically still weak. The same development is apparent in the relation between the bourgeoisie and the millions of the propertyless small peasants. From this results a complete shifting of the fighting fronts. The decisive strata of the Egyptian population, the workers and the peasantry, are lining up in a fighting front not only against imperialism, but also against its Egyptian agent, the Egyptian bourgeoisie.

## FASCISM

### The Fascist Dictatorship in Finland.

By O. W. Kuusinen.

(Continued.)

#### The First State Act of Fascism.

For what purpose were all these efforts of the leadership of the coalition party necessary? Perhaps only in order to obtain government power: No, they could have obtained that any day they wished without any great efforts. The Land Union would have raised absolutely no objection to forming a government along with the coalition party. Apart from a few exceptions, all Cabinets in Finland since the civil war have been government blocks between the coalitionists and the Landbund with or without the participation of other bourgeois parties. The last time a government was formed by the Land Union without the coalitionists it was because the latter did not wish to participate, as they perceived the difficulties with which the government would be confronted.

The Kallio government did its best in order to pursue a course to complete fascism in legislation (government bills for abolition of right of combination, freedom of the press of the labour movement, changes in the law regarding state of war etc.) The adoption of the government bill on associations by Parliament in December last, with the help of the social democratic deputies, meant a considerable step towards depriving the labour movement of all legal rights. A number of similar steps would undoubtedly have received the sanction of Parliament if there had been the time and patience required for Parliamentary bargaining. This method was, however, too slow and clumsy for the purposes of the Finnish bourgeoisie and it would also have confronted Finnish bourgeois Parlia-

mentarism with a very great problem: what would be the result of the coming elections if all bourgeois parties, including the social fascists, compromise themselves in the eyes of broad strata of the toilers (who according to the Constitution still have the right to vote) by fascist enactments? A fresh election victory of the Communists, fresh defeats of the coalitionists?

An awkward dilemma. What more could the government do than what had been done by the Kallio government? Another government would not have had the freedom of movement necessary in order to carry out the thorough change of regime at a sufficient rapid tempo, as so urgently demanded by the class interests of the Finnish bourgeoisie since the year 1929. Here was the dilemma. The Constitution had become far too narrow for the Finnish bourgeoisie. It was a Constitution of the Finnish counter-revolution, the "White Finland Constitution"; it was borne out of the furious orgies of revenge of the bourgeoisie in May 1919, in which over 30,000 workers were murdered after the end of the fighting in the civil war. This Constitution was formulated and decided in the Parliament of the year 1919, in which there was not a single Communist and in which the government of the coalition Land Bund block had more than 99 per cent of the votes. This Constitution had now become dangerous to its originators. The builders of this Constitution, which was to last for centuries, were only ten years older when they were compelled to declare that their wonderful craft had hopelessly run aground and that there was no constitutional way out; that they had to call in the aid of the pirates in order to blow up the wreck.

The destruction of the Constitution — that is not a trifle. But it is a question not only of the Constitution but of much more; of complete fascism of the State apparatus and all other forms of bourgeois class rule. That is the task into the fulfilment of which the leaders of the Finnish bourgeoisie have flung themselves with all their energy. The destruction of the Constitution was for them, on the one hand, the necessary precondition and, on the other hand, the first great step of the new fascist regime. Further steps will not be long in following. In particular, in all probability further important steps will be undertaken in economic and military policy.

The whole programme of fascism is, of course, even in the best case, not capable of being carried out in a few weeks. How far an absolute complete fascism is at all realisable, and for how long, is in the first place to be regarded as a concrete question of the class struggle. In any event we must reckon with the fact that the Finnish bourgeoisie will do everything in order to pursue a definite fascist policy along the whole line. For the purpose of facilitating and accelerating the carrying out of this policy the leaders of the Finnish bourgeoisie had to avail themselves of the services of fascist bands, with the aid of which they can proceed most brutally.

And that is the essence of the matter and not an alleged fight of the fascists in Lapua for the overthrow of a "democratic" government.

(To be continued.)

## Scandinavian-Finnish Anti-Fascist Conference.

On the 10th of August there was held in Stockholm a Scandinavian-Finnish anti-fascist Conference which proved a great success. Although the Conference was organised in the relatively short time of a fortnight, approximately 70,000 Danish, Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish workers were represented there by 158 delegates. The latter had been elected at numerous meetings of local trade union councils, sport associations and syndicalist unions, as well as anti-fascist committees and represented all political tendencies. The soldiers and sailors of the Swedish army and navy had elected 10 representatives at special meetings; Comrade Leow, Germany, decorated these delegates with the badge of the "prohibited" German Red Front Fighters' League. The soldiers declared in a telegram of greeting to Comrade Thälmann, that they will proudly wear the badge of the Red Front Fighters' League in the consciousness, that they will fight and win under this sign.

After exhaustive discussions, in which social democratic, syndicalist and non-party workers expressed the unanimous opinion that the fascist movement is advancing not only in Finland but in all three Scandinavian countries, and that it is necessary to combat and defeat it, an inter-Scandinavian

Committee was founded for the purpose of organising and leading the struggle against fascism in all four countries. Factory committees are to be set up in all factories in order, over the heads of the social democratic leaders, to establish the united front from below and to organise the struggle against fascism. In connection with this Conference a Swedish section of the International Red Aid was founded, which issued an appeal calling upon the Swedish working class to come to the aid of the numerous political refugees from Finland.

The conference was further instructed to organise special delegations in the Scandinavian countries which shall proceed to Finland in order as far as possible to establish connection with the Finnish workers, but also in order to gain information regarding the activity of the Fascists in Finland and afterwards to deliver reports on the same to the broad masses in the Scandinavian countries.

As the second item on the agenda, the conference dealt with the fight against imperialist war-preparations directed against the Soviet Union and the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan.

The Scandinavian-Finnish Anti-Fascist Conference was a very promising commencement of a broad mass movement against fascism and the danger of imperialist war and furnishes proof of the growing influence of the Communist Parties among the working masses of these countries.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Protest Against the Arrest of Aladar Tamas.

The "Union of Hungarian-Speaking Writers and Artists" has learned with indignation of the latest crime of the Horthy-Bethlen fascist dictatorship, of the arrest of Aladar Tamas, the editor of "100 Per Cent", the only Marxist cultural organ in Hungary.

The periodical "100 Per Cent" is the only press organ in Hungary which, right from the first moment, bravely criticised the cultural policy of the fascist dictatorship and also energetically opposed and exposed the compromising, sham proletarian, degenerated petty bourgeois and worthless "workers' cultural activity" of the social democracy and its lackeys, Ludwig Kassák and his consorts, who have been ordered to the cultural front.

Therefore, the paper was for years a source of offence in the eyes of the police scoundrels of the fascist dictatorship; therefore it was attacked and denounced by the social democratic party; therefore Ludwig Kassák, the cultural provocateur and cultural prostitute of the social democracy, carried on the vilest incitement against the paper.

But neither the prisons of the fascist dictatorship nor the efforts and denunciations on the part of the traitors to proletarian culture will be capable of stopping the spread of revolutionary workers' culture in Hungary. The arrest of Tamas will also open the eyes of those workers and Left intellectuals who have up to now given credence to the tricks and jugglings of social fascism on the front of proletarian culture".

The coming proletarian revolution in Hungary will sweep away with the rubbish not only the class which wishes to kill free militant thought in Hungary, but also its allies, the denunciatory social-fascist bandits of culture.

Revolutionary writers of all countries, protest! Release the brave champion of revolutionary workers' culture, Aladar Tamas, from prison!

### The Union of Hungarian-Speaking Writers and Artists.

Paul Aczél, Johann Balogh, Alexander Barta, Ladislaus F. Boross, Eugen Derkovits, Ladislaus Griffel, Iwan Gyöngyös, József Gyetvay, Paul Hajdu, Anton Hidas, Béla Illés, Moses Káhána, Friedrich Karikás, Alfred Kemény, Julie Kenyeres, Ludwig Kiss, Aladár Komját, Charlotte Lányi, Josef Lengyel, Zoltán Lippay, Johann Mácza, Emil Madarász, Johann Matheika, Andor Réz, Irene Róna, János Szilágyi, Viktor Tóth, Béla Uitz, Elisabeth Ujvári, William Weinberg, Máté Zalka.

## V. Congress of the R. I. L. U.

# On the Opening of the Congress of the R. I. L. U.

By A. Losovsky.

The following is from an article written by Comrade Losovsky, and published in the Moscow press, on the occasion of the opening of the V. Congress of the R. I. L. U. Ed.

The Profintern Congress is a Congress of self-criticism and action. It is to be opened at an extremely complicated and critical time. Events are maturing in the world's economics and in the world's politics which will set the Comintern and the Profintern, and their sections, extremely difficult fighting tasks in the immediate future. The economic crisis continues to advance with irresistible force; fresh millions of unemployed will be thrown upon the streets. The struggle for markets is assuming increasingly relentless forms, armaments are growing, a fresh and mighty wave of revolution is rising in the most important colonies (China and India), the working class of the capitalist countries is passing forward to the counter offensive, and in the very weakest links of the capitalist organism (Poland and Roumania) the economic crisis is changing into a political crisis — the strongest ramparts are being shaken — all over the world. At the same time the Soviet Union continues its victorious advance, despite all prophecies to the contrary, and awakens the envy and hate of the whole capitalist social-Fascist world.

Under such circumstances it will be the task of the Profintern Congress to bring the subjective factor as far as possible to the level of the favourable objective conditions. We are no Amsterdam International, and therefore we state things as they are. In July of this year the assembled Amsterdammers contrived simply to pass over the economic crisis, the unemployment, the armament fever, and the colonial revolution. The lackeys of capital assembled in Stockholm did not venture to state the truth. Capitalism today has so little resemblance to organised capitalism, and the present crisis is such a glaring contradiction of all promises and prognoses, that it is better to preserve silence on the subject. The Amsterdamer Congress ignored the most important questions, and concentrated its attention on the question of the headquarters of its International Committee. And here the imperialist contradictions in the Amsterdam International became apparent, the antagonisms among the victors and the vanquished of the great war. We shall have no imperialist differences; we shall not quarrel over the headquarters of our International — we are ready for these to be in Berlin, Paris, London, or New York. At our Congress we shall discuss and struggle for the maintenance of a correct policy in the mass movement, for the tactics of the united front from below, for better means and methods of winning over the majority of the working class, for the independent leadership of the economic struggles. Every question of interest to the delegates will be debated at our Congress; we have nothing to hide. We do not suffer from the Amsterdam self-satisfaction and narrow-mindedness, and shall submit the Profintern and its sections to severe self-criticism. We shall examine into every strike and every campaign, and fearlessly expose our weak points — this is why the Congress meets, to draw the balance of the past and to form a correct estimate of the present, in order that the fighting methods for the future may be laid down. If this is not customary in the Amsterdam International, so much the worse for it.

Our Congress will have no connection with the League of Nations and its international bureau, and will therefore say everything with regard to the war danger, the revolutions in the colonial countries, and the attempts being made by the capitalist countries to surround the Soviet Union. Our Congress will not play hide and seek; it will state openly exactly what it thinks on the "labour governments" and their criminal role in throttling the economic and political struggles of the proletariat.

Nor will the Profintern Congress resemble the Amsterdam Congress in its composition. At Stockholm a part of Europe

was represented, at our Congress every continent, every country and race. Delegates have already arrived from Australia, China, Japan, the Philippines, Corea, Indo-China, India, Egypt, England, the United States, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chili, Peru, Ecuador, Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Cuba, New Zealand, South Africa, Nigeria, Cameroons, Gambia usw. When we add the delegates of all the countries of Europe, it will be seen that this time it is a real International, not a European trust for the defence of capitalism, for combating the rising revolution. It is clear to every delegate, from whatever quarter of the globe he may come, that the working class is faced with ruthless class struggles; and from this standpoint we shall discuss and deal with every question.

Closer to the masses by means of the united front from below, combat against Right opportunism and "Left" sectarianism, actual leadership of the economic mass struggles of the proletariat, aid for the weakest groups of the world proletariat, closer contact of the colonial slaves with the working class of the capitalist countries and with the proletariat of the Soviet Union — these are the tasks of the V. Congress of the RILU. The ten years of struggle and experience behind the Profintern are the guarantee that the Congress will fulfil these tasks, and will be the real leader pointing out the way in the winning over of the majority of the working class, the overthrow of capital, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

## Opening of the Congress of the R. I. L. U.

Moscow, 16th August 1930.

The V. Congress of the RILU. was opened in the great hall of the trade union buildings, in the presence of the representatives of 55 countries. The General Secretary of the RILU., Comrade Losovsky, held the opening speech, stating inter alia:

Today the RILU. meets under difficult international conditions. Ten years ago, when the Foundation stone of the RILU. was laid, the capitalist world was just passing from a period of artificial post-war prosperity into one of severest economic crisis. For a whole decade capitalism has been endeavouring to overcome this crisis, and has mobilised every force for this purpose, including social democracy. But when we draw the balance of the last decade, we see the capitalist world still shaken by the convulsions of the economic crisis. All the strivings of the bourgeoisie and of social democracy, all their talk about organised capitalism and American prosperity, have been in vain. The prognosis advanced by us ten years ago has proved right. Capitalism has developed on a downward curve, as proved by the extremely severe economic crisis of the moment. When the RILU. came into being, international reformism occupied a fairly powerful position in the working class of the capitalist countries. At that time the Amsterdam International counted 20 million members. And what do we see today? International reformism is forced to admit a considerably thinning of its ranks.

At that time the International of the reformists, according to their official figures, had 24 million members; now there are only 13 million left, and of these a considerable part are adherents of the RILU. — the revolutionary trade union oppositions in the reformist unions. During this time the RILU., in spite of the loss of the Italian and Spanish Labour Federations, has swelled to a powerful world organisation. The growth and strengthening of the RILU. has been accompanied in this decade by the advancement of the first country of the proletarian dictatorship, the Soviet Union, in which the RILU. first came into being. In the course of these ten years the SU. has proved to the whole world what the proletariat is capable of accomplishing when it develops its creative energy and creative power. It has accomplished this at a time when social democ-

cracy has possessed governmental power in many countries of Europe, but has led the working class to disastrous defeat, and thereby prepared the way for the Fascist dictatorship. In the course of these years international reformism has supported capitalism, whilst we have destroyed it.

Our movement still possesses many defects and weaknesses, and these we shall subject to searching self-criticism at our Congress. With the aid of self-criticism we can forge a powerful weapon with which to combat capitalism. The central question at this Congress is indubitably the organisation of the economic struggles of the proletariat. This question was already raised at the IV. Congress of the RILU, at the time when we issued the slogan of the independent Leadership of the economic struggles.

Our International is really international. Every worker and peasant, wherever he may take up the struggle — whether in China, India, or in the Philippines — and whatever the colour of his skin, is our ally and our brother, and we shall fight with him and for his interests. (Enthusiastic applause.)

After Comrade Losovsky's opening speech, a Presidium of 41 persons and a Secretariat of 10 were elected.

The V. Congress of the RILU, was greeted by Comrade Kursin as representative of the ECCI, Comrade Clares for Latin America, Comrade Gardi from the Pacific Secretariat, and Comrade Nossov on behalf of the Moscow trade unions. The Congress was further greeted by various workers delegations of the Soviet Union.

## Report of Comrade Losovsky.

The second session took place on 16th August. Numerous workers' representatives from various parts of the Soviet Union greeted the Congress. The Congress then passed on to the 1st point of the agenda: "The report of the Executive Bureau and the tasks of the international revolutionary trade union movement. Comrade Losovsky, received with tumultuous applause and the singing of the "International", gave his report.

The speaker analysed the crisis now convulsing the capitalist world. This crisis is one of over-production. It has arisen out of the disparity between the steady increase of the possibilities of production on the one hand and the limitations put on the markets by the impoverishment of the masses and the insurrections in the colonies on the other. The speaker described the symptoms of the present crisis, the decline of production, the closing down of undertakings, the increasing unemployment, the prohibitive tariffs, the imperialists conflicts for the markets, the growing want and misery of the working class, etc. In the capitalist countries the standard of living of the workers sinks steadily. All capitalist, colonial, and semi-colonial countries are affected by unemployment. It is clear that either the proletariat of the capitalist countries must help the working class of the colonies, or the colonial coolie will press the standard of living of the workers in the capitalist countries even lower.

Comrade Losovsky further analysed the rôle played by international reformism as agent in the service of capital, and exposed the true countenance of the so-called Left wing of the Amsterdam International in the persons of its leaders.

The situation in the capitalist countries must be compared with that in the Soviet Union. Here the crisis, there advance. In the Soviet Union not only the working class is enjoying the benefit of the economic prosperity, but the collective movement enables the broad masses of the peasantry to have their share. Before the revolution the workers of Russia, and especially the peasants, never satisfied their hunger. Were the quantities of industrial and agricultural products produced by the Soviet State to be produced in a capitalist country, the shops in such great towns as Moscow would be overfilled with goods, but the workers' districts and the villages would see nothing of them.

Comrade Losovsky concluded his report in the forenoon session of the Congress on 17th August. He first spoke of the economic struggles of the proletariat. In the period following the IV. Congress of the RILU, the working class confronted the bourgeoisie in every strike and economic conflict. One

of the most effectual weapons against the proletariat is the "Labour Government". The world crisis has created a new fighting situation, greatly intensifying it, and stamping an expressly political character on all strike struggles. It is true that the Sections of the RILU have at once taken up the leadership of the economic struggles, and have often been able to guide the movement and carry it on to the end, and it is true that they do much towards exposing the strike-breaking role played by social democracy, etc., but there are still many shortcomings to be recorded in this direction. There is still a tendency to lag behind the fighting spirit of the masses, an inadequate preparation for the strike conflict, the appointment of strike committees or their election by too few votes, the drawing up of the demands of the workers on strike by too small a circle of persons, the recognition of the revolutionary line in theory and failure to apply this line in practice, confusion in regard to the employers and an incapacity to organise negotiations competently. The economic struggle merges into the political. Under present conditions there are no purely economic strikes. To revolutionise the strike movement means making clear to the strikers the connection between their economic demands and the whole system of the bourgeois dictatorship, to expose the rôle of social fascism, and to convert every proletarian into a class conscious fighter for the working class.

Comrade Losovsky further dealt with the Right and "Left" deviations and the necessity of combating these in the Sections of the RILU. He then enumerated the chief immediate tasks of the RILU. Above all the revolutionary trade union movement must devote the utmost effort towards aiding the workers in their daily struggles for better conditions and higher wages, must utilise every fighting trend in the workers, must fight against social fascism, must gather around it all workers, including the non-party, the social democrats, the Roman Catholics. The united front is our fighting method. The united front draws the backward workers into our ranks, it fights ruthlessly against social democracy, against compromises with the reformist leaders. The German trade union opposition has found the right way in organising trade union opposition groups in the works and factories. This is an example which should be followed in other countries. We must take energetic steps in the interests of the unorganised. In those places where there are no revolutionary trade unions, the unorganised must be induced to join the reformist unions, that they may swell the opposition in these. In countries where there is a powerful trade union opposition, such as Germany, the slogan of "Join the reformist trade unions" must be replaced by "Join the trade union opposition". The growth of the class struggle beyond the boundaries of the countries raises the question of the consolidation of international solidarity. Frontier committees and fraternities must be founded, and the active support of the striking workers of other countries must be organised. This applies especially to the workers of the mother countries. The Sections of the RILU, must insist unceasingly on the connections between the struggle of the peasants in the colonies and that of the peasants in the mother countries. The slogan of the "Independence of the colonies" must be made one of our leading fighting slogans. In view of the growing war danger, and of the war preparations against the Soviet Union, the proletariat is set the task of organising the struggle against war. The defence of the Soviet Union is the centre upon which the attention of the workers is concentrated. Upon the efficiency with which we organise this war against war depends whether the imperialists will succeed or fail in their aim of crushing the workers' revolution.



At the evening session speeches were delivered by Comrade Heckert on the tasks of the trade unions in the period of the growing revolutionary situation, by Comrade Tormossova on the participation of women in the revolutionary trade union organisations and in the revolutionary struggle, by Comrade Reich on work among the youth, and by Comrade Ford on the position of the Negroes in different parts of the world. The Congress then elected committees to deal with the Japanese, Chinese, British, Spanish, Czechoslovakian, Negro, and social insurance questions.

## Comrade Tormossovas Report.

Moscow, 18th August, 1930.

It is characteristic of the strike movement of recent years that it has been participated in with great activity and heroism by the **working women**. This is caused in the first place by the employment of fresh millions of women as cheap labour in the process of production and in the second place by capitalist rationalisation and the crisis which so particularly affects the army of women workers. There are about 20 million women industrial workers all over the world. The total number of women wage-earners, not including women agricultural workers, is stated by the Geneva Labour Office to be 50 million. From year to year this army of women workers grows. In France, before the war, the share of production falling to the women workers was 20%, but now this figure is 40%. In Czechoslovakia the number of women workers doubled between 1921 and 1929. We see the same development in all the other capitalist countries.

The deficient organisations possessed by the women workers are entirely inconsistent with the role played by women in the process of production, and with their activities in the strike movement. We have not yet learnt to anchor the activities of the women workers securely by means of organisation; our organisational work among the women is still very imperfect.

Comrade Tormossova compared the economic position of women in the capitalist countries with that in the Soviet Union (equal political rights with men, equal pay, vocational continuation schools, four months leave for confinement, etc.) The speaker then described the tasks of the revolutionary trade union movement with regard to work among women. The broad masses of working women must be brought into the revolutionary movement; they must be organised, and the best workers among them must be trained for leading positions. The main centre of work among women workers is the factories and workshops. Here committees of women workers must be formed, and the women gathered around these. The millions of women workers in town and country must be won over for our struggle, for the communist revolution. There can be no true mass movement without the women. Today, on the eve of the decisive struggle of the proletariat, we recall these words of Lenin with special emphasis.

## Comrade Ford's Report.

Comrade Ford, reporting for the International Trade Union Committee of the Negroes, first described the situation of the Negroes in the different parts of the world, and the frightful exploitation of the Negroes by the imperialist Powers. The insurrections which have taken place of late years in various quarters of the globe show the progressing revolutionising of the Negro masses. In 1928 there was a rising in French Equatorial Africa. Lately there were insurrections in South Africa and Nigeria, where the "Labour Government" headed by MacDonald caused hundreds of women marching at the head of the insurgent Negro masses to be shot down. In the USA. the lynching of Negroes is a daily occurrence. The USA. government sends to the electric chair without ceremony, those Negroes who carry on revolutionary work among the Negro workers.

Of late years the movement among the Negroes has made great progress, especially since the founding—in accordance with the decision of the Executive Bureau of the RILU,—of the **International Trade Union Committee of the Negroes**. In August 1929 a special Negro Seamen's Conference was held in Vladivostock. This year an International Negro Workers' Conference was organised, attended by 17 representatives of the USA., the Gold Coast, Gambia, Nigeria, and South Africa. The repressive measures taken by the imperialist Powers prevented many delegates from appearing. Owing to inexperience, the preparatory work for this Conference was inadequate. It dealt with the question of the struggle against capitalist rationalisation, and especially with the struggle against war danger. The Conference stressed the experience gained in the great war, in which the Negro workers and peasants served as cannon fodder... The International Negro Committee has done excellent work. Numerous pamphlets, appeals, and leaflets have been distributed among the Negro workers. The question of the right of self determination of the

**Nor** wing in the Southern States of the USA. has been Congress in i.

## PROLETARIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT

### All Out for the XVI. International Day of Struggle of the Working Youth!

The E.C. of the Y. C. I. has issued the following Appeal to the Young Workers in Town and Country:

For the 16th time the day is approaching on which the revolutionary young workers of all countries join together in great demonstrations of struggle against imperialist war and the shameful betrayal of the II International.

Today—12 years after the close of the 4-year robber war—the capitalist world finds itself again immersed in a far-reaching crisis. The wave of rationalisation and the huge increase of unemployment bring with them renewed poverty and exploitation for the whole working class and the youth. With the aid of social democracy the bourgeoisie is attempting to throw all the consequences of the crisis onto the shoulders of the working class. Shockingly long working hours and starvation wages, robbery of the last penny of the young unemployed—this is the way it is trying to escape the crisis. Increased deprivation of political rights and growing fascist terror are the means adopted to break down resistance of the working class.

The armaments and preparations for war have reached gigantic dimensions. You are being threatened with the danger of new imperialist wars which the capitalist robbers are setting ablaze everywhere in their search for new sources of profit and for the domination of the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

The heroic revolution of the Chinese workers and peasants, the mighty struggle of liberation of the oppressed peoples in India and Indo-China are bound to be put down with blood and steel by the armed troops of MacDonald and the other greedy imperialists. More and more tightly is the war ring being drawn by the world imperialists around the first workers' state, the Soviet Union, where the working class, free from the yoke of capitalism, is going ahead at a stormy pace to build up a new world, the world of Socialism.

But under the blows of capitalist exploitation, militarism and fascism, millions of oppressed workers in all countries have awakened and joined in the struggle. Big economic struggles and strikes, clashes and uprising, the victorious events of the Red Army in China, the courageous participation of the youth in all these struggles and their own youth strikes witness the new advance of the revolutionary movement.

#### Young Workers!

In the factory, where you all are subjected to the same slave driving and exploitation regardless of the organisation to which you may belong, set up the proletarian united front for a common struggle for your elementary demands! Young workers in the social-democratic, Christian and national organisations, break with your leaders who deliver you into the hands of capitalist rationalisation and exploitation, join the ranks of the young proletariat in the class struggle!

**Young Workers in the factories and unemployed Youth!** Struggle in the united front for work and bread and against mass dismissals!

**Soldiers!** Establish contact with the revolutionary proletariat! Do not fire on your struggling brothers, the Chinese and Indian workers and peasants, but struggle at their side!

**Young Workers!** Prevent the transportation of munitions and arms to be used against the rebelling workers and peasants in China, India and Indo-China! Use your readiness for proletarian struggle and your spirit of sacrifice to follow the banner and the slogans of Liebknecht and Lenin! Join the ranks of the Young Communist International which alone is struggling for all your vital interests under the leadership of the Communist International—your place is here! The Soviet Union, the dictatorship of the proletariat, shows you by its tremendous success the road to liberation from the capitalist crisis and poverty!

On September 7, XVI. International Youth Day, demon-

strate in the streets under the banner which has been tested in the struggle, the banner of the Young Communist International:  
For the defence of the Soviet Union!

Against the intervention of the imperialists, and for the victory of the Chinese Revolution!

Against war preparation and the imperialist war danger!

Against deprivation of political and economic rights, against exploitation and for the improvement of the conditions of the working youth!

Against Fascism and Social Fascism! Against the militarisation of the working Youth!

For proletarian defence and fraternisation between the workers and soldiers!

For the victory of the world revolution!

Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### Dictatorship in Yugoslavia.

By Erich Richter, Berlin.

The League of "Free Balkans" in Berlin, an organisation of progressive German intellectuals who have made it their task to support the emancipation struggle of the people in the Balkans, have just published a book entitled: "Dictatorship in Yugoslavia", consisting of a collection of documents on the terrorist methods of the Yugoslavian dictatorship in the eighteen months of its existence. This book is the first work in book form describing the white terror in present-day Yugoslavia, and brings a fearful indictment against the bloodiest and most cruel dictatorship in Europe.

The book contains a preface by Henri Barbusse, which is followed by a lengthy political introduction by the League of "Free Balkans".

The first chapter describes the murder of the leaders of the Croat peasantry, Stjepan and Pavle Raditsch and Gjuro Bassaritbek, in the Belgrade Parliament and reprints the historical memorandum of the leaders of the Croat peasant party dated 4th December, 1928, in which it is proved on the basis of irrefutable facts that this triple murder had been prepared long beforehand and was carried out on the orders of the royal court: "... The late Stjepan Raditsch, in his protocol, accuses the Court Minister Dragomir Jankovitch of complicity in the crime of 20th June, as the murderer, Ratchitch, had been in the royal palace, where he had a long Conference with the Minister Dragomir Jankovitsch, immediately before the commission of the crime."

In the next chapter, the German journalist, Paul Brand, who has visited Yugoslavia, describes the way in which the press is gagged by the authorities. All revolutionary workers' newspapers, all organs of the red trade unions and of the national revolutionary organisations have been suppressed and their editors arrested and imprisoned. But the bourgeois press is also persecuted by the police, and every free expression of opinion is prohibited: "... According to the law there exists no preliminary censorship. In practice, however, it is in full swing. The proof sheets of the newspapers are brought to the police before the paper is printed. The police censor the sheets and order what articles must not appear. On the orders of the police, however, the blank spaces must be filled with other articles so that the public shall not notice that anything has been censored. Still more characteristic is the fact that the police prosecute the editor on account of those articles which have not been allowed to appear, which have not been printed and which nobody has read."

Statistics are given regarding the political murders committed by the police and gendarmerie. The figure 77 given as the number of murders committed under the dictatorship is no longer correct: during the printing of the book the number has increased to 80.

The book gives a full account of the murder of Gjuro Djakovitch, the secretary of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and of Nikola Hetchimovitch, the secretary of the Yugoslavian Red Aid. A coroner's report, a facsimile of which is given in the appendix, proves beyond doubt that

the statement of the police, according to which Djakovitch and Hetchimovitch were "shot while trying to escape" is a contemptible lie" . . .

Letters from prisoners describe the terrible situation of the political prisoners. A prisoner in the police prison in Ossiek described the murder of the Young Communist Hauk: "... Hauk was tortured on the 28th of August. After the tortures he was placed in the cell formerly occupied by the political prisoners Ssimitch, Korsky and Friedmann. These three saw him: his face was covered with blood and he was probably unconscious, as he was led by two police agents. On the following day, at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, a prisoner named Jelavitch was brought before the chief of police Dr. Massovitch. To the question of a police agent, what should be done with Hauk, Dr. Massovitch answered: "Bring him into my room — you know what you have to do with him!" A few minutes afterwards Benjaminovitch, a police agent, rushed excitedly into the examination room and cried: "Hauk has jumped out of the window!" — Hauk was fettered, and there were with him in the room, in addition to Benjaminovitch, the police agents Banatz, Tchabritch, Wulitch and Kalitch. These are the facts regarding the alleged "suicide!" A few months later the murderer Benjaminovitch was decorated with the Golden Cross for the services he had rendered to the royal family.

A police officer from Veliki Betchkerek describes the tortures of arrested Communists, in which he himself personally took part on the orders of his superiors; a Croat peasant describes the terror in the village. Letters from the police prison in Zagreb contain reports on the torture of Croat nationalists: "... Javor was castrated in prison; heavy iron weights and bricks were hung on to his testicles until the blood vessels were torn asunder . . . Koptchinovitch had his ribs crushed in, causing serious and incurable injuries to both lungs.

A series of further chapters contain revelations regarding the secretly held trials of Communists and national revolutionaries by the Belgrade Special Tribunal: the monster trials in Nisch, Kumanova and Belgrade, the trial of the Croat lawyer and former deputy of the Croat peasant party Dr. Schanitch, and further, the trial of the leader of the Croat peasant party, Dr. Vladimir Matchek, and comrades, the only trial to which the world press paid any attention.

A letter from the Mitrovitza prison describes the treatment of political prisoners after they have been sentenced. This treatment differs in no way from the treatment meted out in the police prisons. In Mitrovitza two Communists, Rajitch and Stejitch, who have been sentenced to long years of imprisonment, became insane already in 1925.

The statistics of the sentences: 319 persons condemned, three to death, one to lifelong imprisonment and the others to a total of 1201 years of imprisonment have long since been surpassed.

The last chapters contain descriptions of the torture in the Belgrade police prison of a Lettish tourist who was suspected of being a "Soviet agent" and the cruel treatment of the German woman writer Isolde Reiter.

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In this hell of blood and terror there is only one party which is continuing its fight, courageously and determinedly in spite of serious sacrifices, up to the final emancipation of all the oppressed and enslaved. This party is the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The heroic fight of the Yugoslavian workers and peasants, unparalleled in the history of the labour movement, must receive much more support than hitherto from the international proletariat.

The Communist Oreschkovitch, who was condemned on 6th of March 1930 to five years' imprisonment, stated in his final words before the Belgrade Special Tribunal: "I shall move from the great prison, known as Yugoslavia, in which millions of workers and peasants are imprisoned, into a smaller prison, that of Mitrovitza, from which I shall be freed by the victorious revolution of the workers and peasants."

It is the duty of the workers of all countries to do everything in order that the release of the millions of slaves in the great prison of Yugoslavia shall become an accomplished fact in the near future.

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

# The Collective Farming Movement and the Progress of Agriculture.

Comrade J. A. Yakovlev's Report

(Conclusion)

### III. The New Tasks in the Development of the Agriculture of the Soviet Union.

I now come to the practical part of my report.

The enormous possibilities of development of our agriculture, as shown by the results of this year's spring campaign, confront us with the question: What new tasks can we set ourselves in the field of our agricultural development, in the advancement of the Soviet and collective farms, and in the introduction of the latest technics into agricultural production?

#### 1. The Necessity of a Thorough Reconsideration of the Plan of Agricultural Development.

The last Five-Year Plan gives us little material for the fulfilment of this task because, as we have seen from Comrade Stalin's report, we have already gone beyond the programme of collectivisation contained in it.

The other plans hitherto advanced, both the Five-Year Plan and the original draft of the general plan, cannot be used as material, for they have been in no respect plans for the reconstruction of agriculture.

I cite a few examples out of former plans for the development of agriculture.

The first Five-Year Plan, drafted by the Agricultural Planning Department of the People's Commissariat for the agriculture of the R.S.F.S.R. The chief authors were Kondratyev and Makarov. This Five-Year Plan was based on an "analysis of the tendencies of the actual elementary development of agriculture" <sup>12)</sup>. It was founded on the assumption that in the Union the same tendencies would arise as those characterising the development of agriculture in Russia before the revolution.

The following facts show how "brilliant" this method was. The Plan "assumed" a sown area of 101 million hectares for 1928/29, whilst in that year we attained, in spite of the extremely small production achieved by the majority of the small and dwarf peasant farms, a sown area of 120 million hectares. This plan "assumed" that in the term of five years our agriculture would require machinery to the value of 183 million roubles, whilst the actual value turned out to be 740 million.

The second "Five-Year Plan" was drawn up under the guidance of the Agricultural Department of the State Planning Commission, and was issued in 1927. As its authors, Oganovsky and Vischnevsky, declared, this was based on the former development of agriculture. The philosophy of this Plan was reduced to the following formula: Rather pre-suppose than foresee. In order to show the extent to which this pre-supposing has proved right, one figure may be cited; This Plan "pre-supposed" for 1930/31 a sown area of 119 million hectares. But the Soviet Union took no notice of the "pre-suppositions" of the authors of this Plan . . . and attained a sown area of 129 million hectares by 1929/30. (General laughter.)

The third document: The draft of a general Plan for the development of agricultural production, drawn up by the Sub-commission of the State Planning Commission in 1928. This draft deserves our attention, although it was not controlled by the State Planning Commission and was not given official approval, so far as it shows the type of agricultural development which our bourgeois experts would like our land to take. This draft assumes that by 1940 we shall be planting 1.5 million

hectares with cotton. But in actual fact we have already this year exceeded this amount by 267,000 hectares. (Laughter, Applause.) By 1940 sugar beet planting was to cover 1.2 million hectares, but this year it already covers 1,114 millions. The draft drawn up by this Sub-Commission assumes that by 1940 our tractors will attain to 1,25 million horse power, but to-day the figure of one million horse powers, in round figures, has already been reached. The area of the Soviet farms was to be increased to 1.5 million hectares, and this year the area is already 3.8 millions. It may be observed in conclusion that this draft envisaged an increase of the individual peasant farms to 31 millions: If everything grows, then it must be assumed that the number of individual peasant farms will grow too. (General laughter.)

It should be remembered that all these figures were planned for 1940.

If we are finding it difficult to supply our cities even at the present tempo of development of agricultural production, we may imagine the condition our country would have been in had the development of agriculture kept strictly to the "pre-suppositions" of the above-mentioned Five-Year Plan and of the drafts of the Planned Economy Commission.

Another item must be mentioned in order to characterise the bourgeois idea of the development of our agricultural production. As late as the summer of 1928 the representative of the People's Commissariat for the Agriculture of the R.S.F.S.R., during the discussion with the representatives of the Supreme National Economic Council with respect to the supplying of agriculture with machinery, declared that the sum of 300 million roubles planned for the last year of the new (new!) Five-Year Plan was exaggerated. He proposed a reduction to 250 million roubles, substantiating this as follows:

"The 7% of the market production of agriculture mentioned here by the speaker delivering the report are needed by the peasantry for the purchase of equipment only in the period of restoration, which can now be regarded as ended. In the coming period it will not be possible to maintain this percentage. We must take as a basis the percentage obtaining before the revolution, raising this somewhat, at most by 5 to 6%. Taking further into account the factory prices plus the administrative and other costs, we may expect the programme of agricultural machine supplies to reach a maximum value of 230 to 250 million roubles in place of the 300 million roubles envisaged in the report."

("The perspectives of the five years of development of agricultural machine building in the Soviet Union". Material compiled by commissars of the machine building convention, 12th to 15th July 1928. pp. 17-18.)

And finally the last comparison—with the Five-Year Plan officially accepted by us. This Five-Year Plan differs from the earlier drafts in being a programme of economic reconstruction. The tasks which it sets in the sphere of reconstruction have, however, already been accomplished, or are on the eve of accomplishment. The programme of collective farming development has been surpassed in these two years, and in the third year of the Five-Year Plan the programme of the Soviet farms will be considerably more than fulfilled.

In all this we see the reason why the Central Committee of the Party, in the theses on my report, proposes:

"A thorough reconsideration of the Five-Year Plan for the development of agriculture, the starting point being the tempo of collectivisation laid down in the decision of the Central Committee on 5th January, and fully confirmed by experience."

<sup>12)</sup> "The Bases of the Perspective Plan for the Development of Agriculture and Forestry". Published by "The New Village", 1924, page 5.

What are the decisive tasks which we must set ourselves, and accomplish, in the remaining years of the Five-Year Plan? These tasks have been formulated as follows in Comrade Stalin's report:

1. "The problem of securing progress in the sphere of technical plants."

2. "... the problem of improving livestock-breeding and solving the meat question..."

3. "... the problem of the first solution of the question of grain economics."<sup>13)</sup>

## 2. The Development of Livestock Breeding on the Basis of Collective and Soviet farming.

I begin with the livestock question, inasmuch as here we start from the most unfavourable point, and the solution of this problem is relatively the most difficult.

Between March 1929 and March 1930 our livestock diminished in numbers to a considerable extent, calculated as follows by the statistic department of the State Planned Economy Commission: The number of horned cattle has declined by one fifth, of cows by one eighth, of sheep by one third, and of pigs by two fifths.

The key to the solution of the problem of the promotion of livestock breeding lies in the realisation that the decisive cause of these unsatisfactory conditions is the same uncertainty and economic unreliability of the small farm, with its small market production, in the field of livestock breeding, which brought about the backwardness of our grain supplying capacity some time ago<sup>14)</sup>. The essential solution of the meat problem is to be found, as stated in the theses of the C. C. on my report, "more than anywhere else in the organisation of special Soviet farms for livestock breeding, analogous to those for grain growing, and in the creation of collective dairies producing large quantities for the market". It need not be said that before we proceed to practical work, we must reply to the following questions on the part of the Soviet and collective farms, and of the whole Union:

1. Upon what kinds of animals must we concentrate our attention, in order to attain in this present year a maximum of useful effect, and to ensure the final solution of the livestock question by the end of the Five Years.

2. What measures are necessary for the creation of the fodder basis required.

Investigation has shown that the pig will help us most rapidly to the solution of the meat problem. The pig has two extremely useful properties, which must be clear to the whole Party and to the whole country. The pig can be reared for killing more quickly than any other of our livestock, and yields more meat per fodder unit than horned cattle. These two advantages secure the first place for the pig.

Pigs of English breed, and crosses between these breeds and the Russian land pig (I stress the fact that these cross-bred animals share these qualities), have been shown by the data issued by the Livestock Breeding Institute of the Agricultural Commissariat of the Soviet Union to yield a quantity of meat within 14 months, given proper feeding, equal to that of four oxen (up to 54 pounds), whilst only 40 pounds are gained in the same time by horned cattle. At the same time, one kilogram of pork is the result of five kgs of food (calculated in grain), whilst this weight of beef means 15 kgs of fodder. Hence the conclusion: During the next few years our main meat producer must be the pig. To this we, and the Soviet and collective farms, must devote our chief attention, and on this the means expended for livestock rearing must be concentrated. Hence the tasks set the pig-breeding trust by the Central Committee in the theses on my report: In 1930/31 400,000 pigs for the market, in 1931/32 at least three millions, and in 1932/33 no less than seven millions.

From this there also proceed the measures to be taken by the collective farms for developing the reserves of female cattle, both for the socialised sector of agriculture and for the personal benefit of the collective farmers.

The importance of these measures becomes even clearer when we remember that in the economic year 1932/33 the pig-breeding trust, in accordance with the programme laid down by the theses, will have to supply one and a half times

as much meat as that supplied by the Trade Commissariat in 1928/29 (7 million hundredweights of market production on the part of the trust as compared with the 4.6 million cwts forming the total amount of meat supplied by the trade commissariat).

The task is not easy. We shall accomplish it if we avoid the two "deviations" here possible. The first deviation consists of the erection of buildings for pig breeding purposes which we can very well do without. This is an extravagance, since it is obvious that we must contrive to manage with an absolute minimum of building material, and chiefly with that at the disposal of the authorities.

This danger has been experienced in industry at times. You remember the way in which the power station at Schatura was built: Walls which will outlast by decades the power station itself.

There can be no doubt that we are in danger of erecting buildings for the pigs which they do not actually need. In this respect the Workers and Peasants Inspection will doubtlessly help us by opposing the expenditure of larger sums than necessary for buildings.

The second deviation consists of the idea that the pig lives on and sleeps in dirt, and requires nothing more, whereas as a matter of fact the breeding of seven million pigs for the market by the trust in the last year of the Five-Year Plan means, calculated in grain, that we shall have to provide 200 million pounds of fodder (apart from the food for the pigs reared by the collectivised pig breeding establishments).

These figures enable us to realise the size of the "factory" resolved upon by the Central Committee. We see that the task here involved is no less than the mighty task of organising Soviet grain farms, already accomplished.

The second factory is chiefly a milk factory, and is represented by the cow. Whilst with respect to the pig the chief task consists of increasing our stock of animals, and of attaining a maximum of market production per unit of fodder, in the case of the cow the task is somewhat different.

What is the question here? In order that the cow supplies the present quantity of milk (approximately 1000 litres yearly), 1700 fodder units (calculated in grain) are required. But if the cow is to be made to supply double this amount of milk, it is only necessary to increase the amount of fodder by 30 per cent (not by 100 per cent, as might appear at first glance). In order that the cow supplies three times the amount of milk, it is only necessary to increase the amount of food by 60 to 65 per cent.

We find all this in the elementary text-books. Perhaps it is not worth while to speak of such elementary matters at the Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. It is by no means my task to popularise the agronomy or science of livestock breeding, but to make of these platitudes a weapon helping the Party in its practical work, and enabling our milk consumption to be thereby at least doubled by the end of the Five-Year Plan.

This is no flight of imagination. Let us look back to the end of 1928. At that time the measures proposed by the Peasants' and Workers' Inspection appeared fantastic to many—measures claiming to increase the yield per unit of land by 30 to 35 per cent by the end of the Five-Year Plan. But when the Party made all those measures the possession of the broad masses, and these measures, whose fulfilment was to demand decades according to the estimate of the agronomists, were carried out straight away by the peasant farms after their collectivisation, then we were able to accomplish the task of increasing our crops on the scale prescribed by the decision of the Central Committee on the report of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.

An analogous task now confronts us in the field of livestock breeding. There can be no doubt that we can set ourselves such an apparently fantastic task as the doubling of our meat and milk consumption, and can fulfil this task, if we place our hands on the right levers, above all on the development of the Soviet and collective farms, and manipulate these levers in the right Bolshevik way. At the present time such levers are the development of livestock breeding and the improved feeding of the cows.

That this is not merely an invention of ours, that it is not only an idea thought out at the writing table, and that it is precisely here that the solution of the livestock breeding problem is to be found, is proved by developments in this direction in the United States, where the numbers of horned cattle have diminished during the last decade, where the

<sup>13)</sup> Report of the C. C. at the Party Congress.

<sup>14)</sup> Ibid.

milk yield has increased without any increase in the number of milk cows, where the number of pigs reared fluctuates greatly (up to one third between 1920 and 1926), and yet the consumption of fats and meat per head increases. This process develops in a perfectly elementary manner in America.

What is taking place in America as an elementary process must be consciously organised and realised by us with the aid of the Soviet and collective farms. This is the essential factor of the livestock problem.

### 3. The Organisation of a Fodder Base.

From what we have already said it is obvious that we shall not be able to solve the livestock problem without creating an efficient fodder base. What are our resources in this direction at the present time?

The situation is not exactly splendid. Whilst in the United States over 61 per cent of the total cultivated area falls to fodder plants (not including the pastures, grass sown meadows, etc.), in our country only 30 per cent of the cultivated area is used for growing fodder. This fact sets the leading task for the next few years: the creation of a suitable fodder base for livestock breeding, by means of increasing the area under fodder cultivation, and by means of improving the pastures and meadows.

What is our programme for the organisation of a fodder basis for socialised livestock breeding?

It is very easy to say: Let us double our milk supply by giving the cows 30 per cent more food! The only question is at whose expense this is to be done. The case is the same with pigs. There are unfortunately still many among us who believe that pig does not require feeding, that it will forage for itself. Perhaps it will, but it is not by such methods that we shall solve the meat problem.

What then is our programme? The Institute for Livestock Breeding has calculated that, in order to double our consumption of meat and milk, we should have to increase the fodder resources of our country by half as much again. The essential point of this task is that the increase by half as much again of our fodder resources does not mean simply that we are to add to the millions of pounds of straw at our disposal still 50 per cent more straw. Our livestock is already receiving sufficient coarse food, so much that as far as quantity is concerned it might well suffice to triple the milk supply. We must not forget that at the present time our feeding stuffs consist to the extent of more than two thirds of straw, hay, chaff, etc., whilst a meat and milk yielding machine, if it is to work productively, must receive at least two thirds of concentrated food. Therefore, the solution of the problem of doubling the production of meat and milk is not simply a matter of providing 50 per cent more fodder, but of ensuring that the increased nutrient is chiefly in the form of concentration foods.

And this means that the whole Five-Year Plan of the agricultural development of the Soviet Union must be so revised that at least 40 million hectares are secured for fodder plants.

How are these 40 million hectares best utilised? In the grain districts of the South we must plant about 7 million hectares with maize and soya beans (ensilage), green food, and corn (in the United States the area under maize cultivation is double that of wheat, 85 per cent of the maize being used as fodder); one to two million hectares sorgho grass (in the United States 2.4 million hectares), further various fodder plants such as lucerne, etc. (in the United States up to 25 million hectares, but in our country only 5.5 million). In the grain importing district we must plant 8 to 10 million hectares more than at present with potatoes (mainly as pig food), swedes, and turnips. I need not here detail such plants as sunflowers, field beans and peas, which must be accorded a suitable place in the programme of the 40 million hectares of additional land allotted to fodder plants.

An indispensable part of the feeding stuffs programme is the improvement of the pastures and meadows. According to the calculations of some agriculturalists, agronomists and experts in livestock breeding, up to 50 per cent of the required fodder will be attained by these means. For this work of improving our pasture land we require an active programme, carried out with the same energy and perseverance, and with the same participation of the masses as required for the actualisation of the programme of a minimum of agronomic measures.

The programme of the improvement of the meadows and pastures is not complicated: the cattle sent out to pasture one week later and brought back one week earlier; the whole pastures are not grazed bare at once, but in strips; the weeds are removed, if only by the most primitive methods; marshy pastures receive the most urgently necessary drainage; manure (potash); harrowing; division of the pastures for the different kinds of animals—all measures demanding no great expenditure and capable of being carried out in a very short time.

If we undertake this whole programme, if we tackle it with that same energy with which we have solved and are solving the grain problem, and if we work for its accomplishment despite all difficulties, without shrinking at the costs or the comments of ossified bureaucrats, then we shall fulfil this new task of the Five-Year Plan—the increase of the area under cultivation for fodder plants by 40 million hectares, and the improvement of the pastures and meadows—and thereby render it perfectly possible to double our reserves of meat and milk.

We are convinced that when this immense task has been accomplished on the Soviet farms, then the collective farms too, having before them in these Soviet farms exemplary large-scale livestock breeding undertakings working on an up-to-date technical and scientific basis, will follow this example. Socialised livestock breeding on these lines will enable us to satisfy the needs of the collective farmers to a much greater extent, and will greatly increase the supplies sent to the cities.

The role played by the Soviet farms will be a very important one here, perhaps even more important than in grain production. There can be no doubt that the collective farms will adopt the same methods. One guarantee of this is the fact that on the collective farms we have at the present time, among the socialised farm stock, 1.3 million cows. If we succeed in solving the problem as far as these 1.3 million cows are concerned—heated stalls and suitable feeding stuffs—then we shall be able to increase our milk production greatly within the present year.

In order to emphasise the urgency of our feeding stuffs programme, I quote a few further examples. The pig-breeding trust required approximately 2 million hectares for growing fodder plants containing concentrated nourishment (here transport difficulties are again involved), and for the organisation of pasture land. The livestock breeding trust requires, if it is to increase its stock to 10 million head by the last year of the Plan, up to 50 million hectares, chiefly in newly opened districts, one half of which land is needed as pasture and about one third as meadowland for hay production. Besides this, the livestock breeding trust utilises the unploughed tracts of land belonging to the grain trust as pasture (up to 15 million hectares), and has at its disposal the whole of the straw and grain waste products of this trust. The sheep breeding trust requires equally as much land; to this trust falls the responsible task of creating the bases of a state undertaking, and of setting an example of efficiency to those branches of farming which are of such extreme importance in all the Eastern national regions of the Soviet Union. In addition it is not only of immense importance from the standpoint of increased meat reserves, but even more from the standpoint of the organisation of the wool basis.

This is the Bolshevik programme, which we have to carry out unconditionally, and which we can be certain that the Party will carry out as efficiently as it has solved the grain problem (Applause).

### 4. The New Tasks of the Shortage Districts in the Development of the Soviet and Collective Farms.

I now pass on to the new tasks set us by the agriculture of the so-called shortage districts, and shall deal with these in part in their connection with livestock breeding, and in part independent of this. The institute for the economy and organisation of socialist agriculture (attached to the People's Commissariat for the Agriculture of the Soviet Union), has divided the Union experimentally into its leading agricultural districts. The so-called shortage district extends over a vast territory, from Leningrad to the north westerly regions, via Moscow, etc. to Ural.

What does this "shortage district" represent from the standpoint of agriculture, and how are the agricultural possibilities, especially in livestock breeding, being utilised? We

find the reply to this question in two data: Only 24 per cent of the whole land is tilled, of this in the Leningrad district 6.5 per cent, in the Western district 30 per cent, in the Moscow district 43 per cent, in the Ivanovo-Vosnessensk district 25 per cent, in the Nishegorodsk district 33 per cent. In other words, the greater part of the land is not utilised for tillage. Is it then used as meadow or pasture? Not at all! All this land is lost, half of it serves as village pasture, and is covered with thickets and briars. The arable land itself is tilled on the most primitive methods. In these districts fallow and waste land form an average of 27 per cent as compared with the cultivated soil, in the Leningrad district 31 per cent, in the Western district 22 per cent, in the Moscow district 29 per cent, in the Ivanovo-Vosnessensk and Nisnegorodsk district 29 and 25 per cent, only 13 per cent serve as pasture and meadow.

Perhaps the objective conditions do not permit of the development of the various branches of agriculture here? Perhaps it is impossible to take further land under the plough in these districts? Perhaps the sun shines here too little? Perhaps there is a lack of water? Perhaps the soil is poor? Perhaps fallow land is here the law of progressive agriculture? Happily for the shortage districts, we can reply to all these questions with a no. In these districts the conditions are extremely favourable for the cultivation of many plants. There is ample sunshine and water (indeed a superfluity of the latter). Conditions are most advantageous for growing different roots, especially the potato. (Hear, hear.)

The fallow land in this district is indubitably a solecism. It must be done away with at all speed. In Germany fallow land is liquidated (reduced to only 1 per cent). In the United States too it is liquidated, though hitherto the supporters of fallow land have always liked to refer to the United States. In the United States fallow and waste land form only 14 per cent of the whole arable land. It must not be forgotten that the Ministry of agriculture in the United States classifies deserted land as fallow, and that there is a large proportion of such land in a number of wheat and cotton growing districts. In the United States (the deserted lands being deducted) there are not more than five to six million hectares. In our shortage district there are seven million hectares of waste and fallow land. If we add Ural and the Central Black Earth district to this, the figure swells to 16 million hectares. This is a reserve which we have wastefully disregarded. If we utilise this reserve within one, or at most two years, we obtain the possibility of taking immediate and gigantic strides forward in solving the livestock question.

Besides this, we must take into account that in this district there are great tracts of country suitable for flax growing, and that at the present time flax is only being cultivated on 2 to 3 per cent of the total sown area. Is this not a waste? Even keeping in mind the famous theory that flax draws an enormous amount of strength out of the soil, we can still increase the flax growing area to 25 per cent of the total sown area, at least in the large and most suitable districts of the shortage area.

We must strike out of our lexicon the conception of "shortage district", and replace it by hammering into the minds of all Party members, of all collective farmers, of all "temporarily still non-collectivised farmers", the conception of a milk and flax district, tending in places to pig-breeding and in others to vegetable growing. (Applause.)

The tasks arising for us in the milk and flax district become immediately apparent:

1. During the next few years we must create a wide fodder basis for livestock breeding here, covering a territory of 15 to 20 million hectares (this outside of the planned basis). The theory that in this district the cultivated areas are bound to lessen, we reject as a bourgeois deviation. These further 15 to 20 million hectares must be made utilisable within the next two or three years at any price. This can be made possible by cultivating the fallow land and cleared woodland and by improving the land. Why do fodder plants cover four-fifths of the sown area of the corresponding "shortage districts" of the United States, and only one third in our country? Why are the American shortage districts utilised to 47 per cent of their cultivated area for growing plants, whilst in ours the figure is only 10 percent? What are the reasons for this? There are no reasons whatever, it is simply a matter of barbaric economic methods, the accursed inheritance of the past.

By the end of the Five-Year Plan we shall be cultivating fodder plants on a further 15 to 20 million hectares in the milk, flax, and vegetable districts. We shall grow a mixture of oats and vetches, clover, sunflowers, swedes, potatoes (6 to 7 million hectares as basis for livestock breeding), fodder beans and peas! By these means we shall lay down a firm foundation for large scale livestock breeding.

2. In this district we must make use principally of the "Putilovets" make of tractors, as also to a less extent of the heavy tractors required to break up the virgin soil. In the wheat districts we have been successful in accomplishing our tasks with the aid of suitable tractors, and here we shall be equally successful with the help of another type of tractor. The milk and flax district will be best aided by the tractors of the Putilov Works. These are eminently adapted to the soil conditions obtaining here.

3. Chibinsk and Solikamsk! these can supply us with the necessary mineral fertilisers for improving the pastures and meadows.

4. Regional and district committees of the milk, vegetable, and flax zone. Turn your faces to livestock breeding! (Applause.) We must put an end to that state of affairs still obtaining this spring, when the Central Committee and Comrade Stalin were obliged to turn the regional and district committees of this zone with their faces towards agriculture. In spite of a number of decisions passed by the Polbureau, these committees did not even always answer the inquiries of the Central Committee on the results of the preparations for the seed campaign. This is of course due to an incorrect view of the possibilities of the milk, flax, and vegetable district.

These are the tasks of the milk, vegetable, and flax district, the tasks which we can and must set the Party in the shortage districts in view of the development of the Soviet and collective farms.

#### 5. The New Tasks Imposed on the Wheat Zone by the Development of the Soviet and Collective Farms.

The region to which I must next draw attention is the wheat district. This district begins in the South of Ukraine and reaches over the Lower and Middle Volga and South Kasakstan to South West Siberia. In a great part of this district, especially in its western part, the increased yield is of decisive importance for the enhanced production of grain. Here the increased yield of 30 to 35 per cent per land unit by the end of the Five-Year Plan remains our minimum task.

The grain problem is, however, not solved by this alone. This alone does not exhaust all the possibilities of the Soviet and collective farms. In order to avoid misunderstandings I must here emphasise that wheat growing should not be confined solely to the districts yielding the best crops. I refer again to the experience gained in America. Here the best wheat crops are obtained in the North East. And what do we see? In this region the breeding of milch cows is regarded as more advantageous, since it is just in this part of the United States that the great industrial centres are concentrated. In America wheat is grown more to the West, in the prairie districts.

In the Soviet Union the best wheat crops can of course be grown in Kuban and the Armawir district. But is it advisable to specialise these districts for wheat growing, when other and more valuable plants can be cultivated here, which do not thrive in other districts?

We shall only grow wheat where the more valuable plants do not grow, and where the tractor can be kept in use for 24 hours.

What reserves have we in the wheat districts for extending the cultivation of wheat? We have vast reserves on the Middle Volga: Only 9 million hectares out of 23 million hectares of suitable land are under cultivation. The Middle Volga must give at least 3 to 4 million hectares for the increased cultivation of wheat in the course of the next three seed campaigns. On the Lower Volga only 7.7 million hectares of the 28 million of suitable land are being used for wheat growing.

From this may be seen clearly that by the end of the Five Years we shall have further 6 to 8 million hectares of land on the Middle and Lower Volga on which we can and must take the plough for wheat growing. (Interjection: Hear, hear.)

I now pass to Kasakstan. In 1929 there were only nine million hectares or 3 per cent ploughed, and of this area only one half was sown.

According to the calculations made by the new candidate to the C.P.S.U., Professor Tukairow, who possesses exceptional knowledge of the agriculture of the dry regions, 50 to 55 million of hectares in Kasakstan may be regarded as suitable for cultivation; of these 36 million hectares are situated in the northern districts bordering on Siberia and Ural: Aktyubinsk, Kustanai, Petropavlovsk, Akmolinsk, Pavlodar, and Semipalatinsk. Here only 5 % of the arable land is used for wheat growing. If we grow wheat on 30 % of these 36 million hectares of arable land, by the end of the Five-Year Plan we could have further 8 to 10 million hectares in Kasakstan alone, and obtain an average harvest of 6 to 7 million cwt. per hectare. (I have given the average minimum figures for the crops, as in the eastern part of the wheat district drought periods are inevitable.)

Finally, Siberia. Here only 9 million hectares are cultivated of 50 millions suitable for cultivation and 500 million hectares of forest. Siberia must take part with at least 4 to 5 million hectares in the extension of the wheat district. (Interruptions: Hear, hear!)

The Central Black Earth District, the Middle Volga, Kasakstan, South West Siberia, and the eastern part of the Soviet Union, taken together, can place at the disposal of wheat growing 20 to 25 million hectares, beyond the Plan itself, by the end of the Five-Year Plan. This, in combination with the wheat production of Ukraine, which plays at the moment the honourable rôle of the main granary of the Soviet Union, will enable us to raise the wheat production of our country to a worthy level.

Can we solve this task? Is it too imaginative? We can and shall accomplish it by the end of the Five-Year Plan. We shall accomplish it on the basis furnished by the Soviet farms, the machine and tractor stations. We shall transform this fresh "dream" into reality with the aid of tractors and combines.

How shall we go about the task? It must be taken into account that we shall have to solve the wheat problem in very thinly populated districts, in districts where the tractor and the combines can be most effectively utilised. If this is taken into consideration, it becomes clear that the fulfilment of the task is a matter of the complete mechanisation of the process of production.

In order to solve this task, approximately 700,000 to one million HP. will have to be granted of the 4 million to be supplied to agriculture beyond the power envisaged by the Five-Year Plan. One quarter of the horse power, to be concentrated during the next few years on agricultural production, must be set aside for preparing further 20 to 25 million hectares for wheat growing. In my opinion we can shall do this.

From the organisational standpoint, the pivot on which the accomplishment of this task swings is the use of man power and draught animal power to a minimum, so that we have no need of great reserves in the case of failures of crops. Besides complete mechanisation, a very necessary item is the full utilisation of the tractor, of every machine, of every labour power. We must take as starting point the possibility that one man is required per 200 hectares. That this is a real and attainable possibility may be seen from the fact that according to the plans of production and finance of the grain trust 210 hectares are allotted per head of labour power for the current year. And this is not the utmost limit. We shall not call a halt here.

It will be seen that in these districts we can solve the wheat problem with the aid of the existing population, without any great number of new settlers, and in complete accordance with the needs of agricultural production, so that each unit of labour is applied with at least fifteen times greater effect than hitherto.

The utilisation of labour will have to be organised by the system of Soviet farms and machine and tractor stations. In order to fulfil this task, the present type of Soviet farm is scarcely suitable. What we need is not a Soviet farm with an area of ten thousand hectares, but of hundred thousand, a farm differing from the existing farms of the grain trust in a considerable limitation of the farm buildings, or, more correctly expressed: the farm building of the present type must in the first place serve a much wider territory, and in the second place the number of auxiliary implements must be greatly reduced. The qualitative decline in the cultivation of the soil must be compensated by the enlargement of the sown area.

The field system must be quite simple. The whole territory must be divided into sown sections by roads running from North to South and from East to West. The section lying between the roads forms the ground lot of the Soviet farm or machine and tractor station. No other farm buildings may be erected on this ground, except tents for the workers.

Finally, the demarcation must form alternately the boundary of each section or of the Soviet farm.

These are the conditions under which we are sure of the accomplishment of the task: Enlargement of the wheat sown area by 20 to 25 million hectares by the spring of 1933.

On this basis the "flight of imagination" may be made a reality.

It should be observed that the risk of periodical failures of crops still exists. There is no guarantee at present against crop failure in the drought regions. Guarantees must be furnished, not against failures of crops, but against famine. Here there is only one thinkable guarantee, and that is the extension of the cultivated area and the accumulation of food and seed reserves in these districts.

In order not to go too far from the main theme, I shall refer only briefly to the other agricultural zones. The Institute for the economics and organisation of socialist agriculture, attached to the People's Commissariat for Agriculture of the Soviet Union, belonging to the Lenin Academy, has made the following provisional zone division:

Industrial technical plants and intensive livestock breeding (South East of Ukraine and Central Black Earth district — sugar beets, hemp, maize; in the Kuban district and in part in the Far East: soya beans, which are of the utmost importance, clover, sunflowers, cotton, tobacco, kenaf etc.) The actual intensification of farming methods by means of the development of the cultivation of technical plants and of intensive livestock breeding will become the general task in Ukraine and in a considerable portion of North Caucasia during the next few years. This task can only be fulfilled by the development of Soviet and collective farms.

Vegetable growing — chiefly in combination with dairy farming in the environs of all large cities, especially Leningrad, Moscow, Don district, and Ural (by means of greatly facilitating the work of the peasantry, we can set ourselves the task of tripling the production of vegetables during the last three years of the Five-Year Plan).

Sub-tropical plants in Transcaucasia, the South coast of the Crimea, and Central Asia. Our slogan must be: Oust the maize from Transcaucasia. Is it not a disgrace that maize is grown here, on a soil where cotton, tea, fruit, grapes, oranges, etc. thrive? (Applause.) Is this not senseless waste? Here a California and a Florida of the Soviet Union must arise!

Mountain and Steppe pasture for flocks and herds is provided chiefly in some parts of Kasakstan, in the south eastern districts of the Lower Volga, and North Caucasia, in South Siberia, in the Buätsch-Mongolian republic, etc. Hither the livestock and sheep trusts will emigrate.

Next comes the forest zone — our future reserves of cultivation areas. It is not by accident that we have subordinated these to the authority of the Supreme National Economic Council. The Supreme National Economic Council will help us to extend the territory suitable for cultivation in the North Welt, where the forests are the cause of the marshy condition of the soil and in the North of the Soviet Union, where the forests in their present size are a proof of the extreme backwardness of our state.

#### 6. Cotton and Flax.

I shall deal somewhat more in detail with cotton and flax, their cultivation being the best criterion for the tempo of the work and the economic organisation, as efficient prerequisites for the rapid creation of a raw material basis for industry.

An entirely new tempo has been struck up, not only in cotton growing, but in the cultivation of all technical plants, as the result of the work of this spring, the tilling of the soil with the aid of tractors through the Soviet farms and the tractor and machine stations, and the provisioning of the cotton producers with grain. It is no wonder that in this year we have surpassed even our own sowing plan. The Soviet farms and machine and tractor stations have cultivated 200,000 hectares of the cotton area, thereby winning over the decisive masses of the small peasants of Central Asia: the

timely correction of the errors committed in the early spring created at the same time the prerequisites for the rapid realisation of our plans.

The experience gained this spring shows that by means of the development of the Soviet farms, and the organisation of a network of machine and tractor stations, we shall be able to carry out completely the programme laid down by the Central Committee of a cotton crop of 48 million poods by the end of the Five-Year Plan. The first requirements for this are:

Development of the Soviet farms, especially of those cultivating Egyptian cotton, on the area opened up by the new irrigation plant. At least 200,000 to 300,000 hectares must be reserved for cotton cultivation on the Soviet farms.

Rapid development of the network of machine and tractor stations, taking as starting point the carrying out of the greater part of the cotton sowing by means of tractors by the spring of 1932, and of cultivating at least 1 million hectares with the aid of tractors by the spring of 1931. The type of organisation results from the experience gained this year: The machine and tractor stations undertake the ploughing and sowing, and all other field work is performed by the peasants of the collective farms.

Rapid development of the cultivation of perennial cotton shrubs, requiring no irrigation system. This year we have made an experiment with the cultivation of these cotton plants on 150,000 hectares. Next year we shall extend this experiment to 300,000 hectares. We shall devote further attention to the rapid development of species of cotton, should this prove justifiable by the achievement of a crop reaching only half, or even only one third, of that harvested in the irrigated fields.

Exclusive cultivation of cotton in the irrigated fields. If this is to be carried out, the requirements of the cotton district in grain must be efficiently met.

And finally, it is time — and it does not exceed our powers — to begin with the solution of two to three irrigation problems, which will open up new and wide tracts of country for cotton growing in Central Asia.

These are our tasks, and these are the methods which have already stood the test of actual practice. The decision lies with the tractor and with the grain supply.

Now a few words on flax. Flax must tread the same path which cotton has trodden before it. It is solely for the reason that up to now this path has not been pursued that we have attained no satisfactory results in the extension of flax cultivation, and in the increase of the flax crop. This means that next spring we must begin with the mass application of the following measures.

The specialisation of certain districts for flax cultivation; with the proviso that here 25 % of the area is to be reserved for flax. The cultivation area for flax must be secured. An excellent method of ensuring this would be to reserve this year an area of about 2.5 million hectares of the winter sown ground for the cultivation of flax, thereby guaranteeing beforehand, in autumn, that this area is ready for the cultivation of flax.

The development of the Soviet farms and of the network of machine and tractor stations. The tractors (chiefly the Putilovets brand, only occasionally Stalingrad brand) must be allotted to the machine and tractor stations with the instruction that their main task is the extension and securing of the areas required for the cultivation of flax. (Interjection: Hear, hear! Applause.)

The main point is that we have in our hands the system of necessary levers, on the basis—I stress this again—of the Soviet and collective farms. (Interjection: Hear, hear!) There is no other system of promoting the cultivation of flax. The tractors must above all satisfy the requirements of flax growing in the grain importing district, especially where cleared woodland is being made arable.

The flax grower must be supplied with grain in the same manner as the cotton grower.

And finally, we must solve the problem of suitable machinery for the preliminary treatment of the flax. It is an intolerable state of affairs that at the present time great quantities of flax straw, enough to keep our flax factories working for a month, are left unutilised. Means must and certainly can be found for obtaining the necessary machines, even if these are not of the very latest types.

The same applies to all other industrial technical plants. The path to their accelerated development, and consequently to the rapid satisfaction of the requirements of the country, leads through the development of the Soviet farms, the organisation of the machine and tractor stations, and the efficient supplies of grain.

These are the further tasks which we can set our agriculture in connection with the development of the Soviet and collective farms.

I make no special reference here—quite deliberately—to a number of other important tasks (mineral fertilisers, media against insect and other pests, electrification of agriculture, development of horse breeding, improvement of seed, especially of fodder plants, etc.), not for the reason that these are of inferior importance, but because I must confine myself to a few decisive questions, whose discussion will clearly show not only to the whole Party, but to the peasants of our country, the new possibilities offered for the raising of agriculture by the development of the Soviet and collective farms.

I hope that in the discussion the comrades will supplement my remarks in many respects.

## 7. Other Fundamental Peculiarities of our Method of Agricultural Production.

In conclusion I may be permitted to return to the question: What is the meaning of the revolution in agricultural production which we are witnessing?

We have seen that this revolution is taking entirely different forms in the United States and in our country. In the one case (America) it is the rich who enjoy the whole of the advantages of the new methods, whilst the small and middle farmers are at a disadvantage; in the other case, (in the Soviet Union) it is the poor and middle farmers who enjoy the advantage, whilst all disadvantages are borne by the kulak. In both cases, however, the change in the methods of production remains an inconstable fact.

What is the essence of the change? Not merely that this—or that machine is replaced by another and more perfect one, but that the use of the tractor and all its auxiliary machines, by the Soviet and collective farms, has altered from top to bottom the whole system of agricultural production. This fact is best confirmed by the actual change in the cost price of heat as compared with that produced by agriculture formerly.

According to the production and finance plan of the grain trust for 1930, the cost price per hectare of wheat is composed chiefly of the price of the metal and of the motor oil: amortisation and initial purchase (that is, chiefly metal) form 34 %, motor and lubricating oil 17 %, seed 21 %, wages 28 %. If we deduct the seed, as carried over constantly from the receipts and expenditure, the data supplied by the grain trust show the following cost price: Amortisation and initial purchases 43 %, motor and lubricating oil 21 %, and wages 36 %. The figures supplied by the head management of the machine and tractor stations (tractor centre) are similar, only that a somewhat larger share falls to wages, inasmuch as the calculations of the tractor centre are not made on the work of the combines, but on the work of the sheaf-binders and threshing machines driven by the tractors. I further quote the cost price of cultivating one hectare, by the machine and tractor stations, the figures resulting from an inquiry made by the Institute for large-scale farming, attached to the People's Commissariat for the Agriculture of the Soviet Union, among 8 such stations. The items are as follows: repairs 10 %, amortisation 23 %, motor and lubricating oil 29 %, wages of tractor drivers 11 %, costs of management 11 %, miscellaneous 16 %. These are the facts. What are the conclusions?

In the earlier stages of the development of mankind the products of agriculture were chiefly the result of enormous quantities of human energy (at best combined with horse power) expended on the soil; at the present time agricultural products are the result of the metal and oil used by mankind for tilling the ground. In other words, the main part of the work required for the growing of wheat is no longer performed in the field itself, but in the iron works and oil industry. In agricultural production the metal and oil returned by mankind to the soil in the form of tractors and accessory machines is transformed into grain. The individual peasant farm of former days required 230 working hours to grow summer wheat on one hectare

of land and 281 hours for winter wheat<sup>1)</sup> (I have taken the lowest calculation supplied by the Head Statistics Office of the Soviet Union), whilst the Soviet farms of the grain trust have only required 9 hours to perform the same work, the tractor being in use for 2½ hours of this time. After the working methods and the mechanisation of a number of processes have been further perfected, and larger types of accessory machines will be brought into use, only six or respectively two hours will be required (this applies to all field work, from ploughing to harvesting.) Nine hours instead of 280, and in the near future only six! It must of course not be supposed that a total of nine hours is all that is required to cultivate a hectare of wheat. It is the field work, the immediate agricultural work, which is reduced to nine hours, whilst the other part of the work required for the production of wheat is transferred from the fields to the mines, ironworks, factories, and oil fields.

Metal and oil instead of the sweat of the peasant's brow, praised by the liberal poets--this is what we are accomplishing. (Applause.)

All this means that agriculture organised to an increasing degree by up-to-date technics is approaching more and more to industry. This becomes especially apparent when we compare the structure of the capital invested in the grain trust with that of the big factories of the metal industry. We see that in the modern Soviet farms of the grain trust the organic structure of their capital is almost the same as in the large-scale metal undertakings. This is the real essence of the change in agricultural production. Therefore I devoted the first part of this report to an analysis of the different manner in which this revolution in agriculture is being carried out under the methods of capitalism and under the methods of socialism.

The technical revolution in the agricultural production of the Soviet Union is secured by the Five-Year Plan, it is secured--and this is most important of all--by the general line of the C.P.S.U., in socialist forms, on the basis of the development of the Soviet and collective farms. Our perspectives of development are determined by the following: we are accumulating the possibilities for the alteration of the technical basis of agriculture. Our collective farms need not wait much longer for the day on which the tractor with its auxiliaries replaces the present system of machines. In the last year of the Five-Year Plan we shall cultivate approximately 100 million hectares with the aid of tractors representing 5 million horse powers. We utilise the capacity of our tractors to such an extent that by the spring of 1934 the greater part of the sowing work (on about 200 million hectares of land) will be carried out by the tractors. This means that a new plan of agricultural machine building is urgently necessary. The 9 million horse powers applied by the tractors to our fields in the spring of 1934 must be reinforced by suitable auxiliaries (and it is not necessary that these be copied exactly from the machines in use in the capitalist countries, where the machinery is adapted to the scale of production there obtaining.) The caterpillar tractor on a Soviet farm of 100,000 hectares does not need those accessory machines supplied by modern industry under capitalist conditions. We require our own accessories.

Experience has shown us that we can ensure the supplying of our agriculture with suitable machinery, by means of the reconstruction of old undertakings and the building of new ones, provided that we do not cling to yesterday, but realise at once that in the next few years it will not be foreign industry, but home industry, which will have to supply the greater part of the accessory machinery required for the 5 million horse powers supplied by our tractors.

It is upon this basis that we shall have to take up the work of revising the Five-Year Plan of the reconstruction of agriculture; the tasks which we set ourselves in the last three years of the plan must take as starting point the fact that by the end of the Five-Year Plan the decisive masses of the peasantry will be members of the collective farms, and the Soviet farms will cover the area prescribed by the decision of the Central Committee.

Whatever difficulties may stand in the way of the accomplishment of this gigantic task, we know at least that their fulfilment will be ensured at a price very much lower than that which the farmers in the United States have to pay for the triumphal march of technical progress under capitalist condi-

tions. There, in the United States, the agricultural revolution is taking decades. This means that the process of the ruin of the overwhelming majority of the farmers, and of the enrichment of a thin topmost layer is going to last for decades. It means that the process of the up-to-date agrarian economics will force the farmers to pass through all the stages of impoverishment and ruin, long ago described by Marx:

"The expropriation of the immediate producers will be carried out with relentless vandalism, under the stimulus of the vilest, dirtiest, and most petty spiteful passions." (Marx. "Capital", Vol. I. Book I. p. 727.)

The path which we have taken, on the other hand, means the improvement of the lives of the overwhelming majority of the peasantry, the abolition of the kulak slavery, the abolition of the kulak, who represents a vanishing minority of the peasantry as a class, the transformation of millions of peasants into free collaborators of socialist society. In pursuing this path, we are realising the theses of the C.C.:

"On the basis of collectivisation, of the development of the machine and tractor stations and the organisation of Soviet farms, the Party can begin with the realisation of the slogan of overtaking and outdistancing the capitalist countries of the world, not only with regard to industry, where the advantages of large-scale undertakings have long been convincingly proved, but at the same time in the sphere of agriculture, whose tempo of development has hitherto been determined by the preponderance of small and dwarf farms of extremely low productive powers, but which will now be determined by the accelerated development of the Soviet and collective farms, which represent an entirely new economic form, unique in the history of mankind, called for the first time into existence by the economic reconstruction of the Soviet Union.

Derisive laughter from every camp accompanies us on this path, both from our open enemies and from our bureaucratic officials. They exclaim: What! meat on ration tickets (and often not enough of it at that!). Soon they will not have any goods at all for which one must not form up in a queue! Just look at what they are doing! Instead of working themselves slowly and steadily out of the situation, they set themselves phantastic tasks, such as the doubling of the consumption of meat and milk, enormous increase of the consumption of wheat, etc.

We shall encounter many such scoffs on our path! We shall take no notice of them, but shall go forward on the general line laid down by the Party, aided now not only by our own experience and convictions, but by the experience gained by hundreds of thousands of collective farmers, the best agitators and organisers of large-scale farming (Interjection: Hear, hear. Applause.). And we may state with full conviction that on this basis, having overcome the inevitable difficulties, we shall not only completely liquidate the food supplies difficulty within the next few years, since these difficulties arise from the small productive capacity of the small and dwarf farms, but we shall secure a rapidity of progress in the satisfaction of the requirements of the working masses in the Soviet Union such as has never yet been known in the history of the capitalist world. (Enthusiastic applause.)

#### IV. The Necessary Organisational Measures for the Consolidation and further Organisational Development of the Collective Farms.

It now only remains for me to deal with certain organisational measures forming the minimum of what is necessary from the standpoint of the consolidation of the collective farms. The section of the theses relating to this point is known to you, so that I may be permitted to deal very briefly with this matter.

In organisational questions we take as starting point certain fundamental considerations, which may be summarised as follows:

It is of fundamental importance that the masses of the peasantry, despite the existence of a great many old traditions in the artels, have created a new type of agricultural undertaking, and one which is applied not only in one village, or in a dozen villages, but over a gigantic territory with a cultivated area of over 30 million hectares.

It is true, that the artel cannot be considered as ideal. It must not be supposed that the artel is the perfect form of socialised farm. But as the theses of the C.C. on my report

<sup>1)</sup> Cost price of the production of the most important field plants in agriculture: 1st part. The Geography of Cost Prices, Head Statistical Office, Moscow 1929, p. 92.

state: "the creation of a new social discipline, the training of the peasants for the building up of socialism, is not perfected in the artel, but only begun". And it is important, historically valuable, an advance in the world historical development of socialism, that in the artel a new type of social agricultural enterprise has been created, in which the private ownership of the most important means of production is abolished, the class exploitation of one peasant by another done away with, and therewith the basis removed which, as Lenin said: "creates capitalism and the bourgeoisie constantly, daily and hourly, with elementary force and on a mass scale" (Lenin: "Radicalism, the Infantile Disease of Communism").

Nor may we idealise the members of the artels. The member of the artel today is the small producer, the small owner, of yesterday. One must understand his mentality. It is comprehensible that at first his thoughts are directed towards recovering himself somewhat from toil and exertion of his small farm, to stretching himself a little, to enjoying something of the pleasanter aspects of life, which his little farm was unable to afford to him, but which the artel can give him. Often enough he will try to free himself of his duties, to loiter, to push his work onto others, etc. This tendency will doubtlessly continue to be widespread for a long time, and to be a serious drawback. We must realise that a certain time must elapse before such collective farmers not only grasp, and take their share of the yield — that this is bound to lead to the ruin of the artel.

The transition from small to large-scale farming cannot be carried out without vacillations, without swingings of the pendulum to one side or another. It is impossible to avoid attempts on the part of the disruptive elements, of the kulaks, bound by a thousand ties to the small peasant, to take action in one form or another.

"In the collective farms the peasants will finally overcome the mentality of the small owner, the striving for private economic accumulation, inherited through generations of small private owners, and will require years of persevering work for the establishment of a mechanised large-scale basis for the collective farms, for the formation of cadres among the collective farmers, and for the cultural raising of the whole mass of the collective farmers."

It is only in the process of such work, in which we oppose to the anarchism of the small producer and small property owner of yesterday the principle of real working organisation and discipline, only by the education of the collective farmers to new socialist conscientiousness in his attitude towards his farm, that we can develop and consolidate the socialist character of the artel. We conceal nothing from the members of the artel. We state definitely: We drive nobody by force into the artel. And more than this: We regard those people who try to force the peasants to join the artels as the enemies of the Party and the Soviet power, as the accomplices of the kulak. And at the same time we say quite openly to those who have joined the artels: There can be no joint undertaking without an elementary discipline, without the creation of a conscious and conscientious attitude towards social property. You have joined the artel of your own free will, but this does not mean that you may pillage the artel if you want to. If you have once become a member of the artel, it is your duty to submit to the statutes and the discipline accepted by the members of the artel. I repeat that if this is not realised, then we shall have no increase in the productivity of labour, no improvement of the standard of living. (Interjection: Hear, hear!)

These prerequisites must be kept in mind when we approach the decisively important organisational and political questions. In this connection the following questions must be given particular attention: The middle peasant, the poor peasant, the reciprocal relations with the individual peasant, withdrawal from the collectives, the cadres.

#### 1. The Question of the Middle Peasant.

Now to the question of the middle peasant. What is here the essential factor? We find the reply in the theses:

"The transition from the individual undertaking to the collective is only possible on the basis of an alliance between the working class and poor peasantry and the middle

peasantry, and this fact imposes on us the duty of systematically drawing the middle peasants into the management of the collective farms."

The slogan of the alliance between the working and poor peasant classes and the middle peasantry determines the development of the village up to the threshold of the collective farm. It decides at the same time a number of practical questions with respect to the middle peasant, especially his participation in the management of the collective farms.

The degree of consolidation ensured for the collective farm depends to a great extent on the question of whether the middle peasants are taking part in the management or not. Dozens of facts show that where the middle peasantry have participated in the management of the collective farms, there have been fewer withdrawals, and fewer mistakes made.

The cases are by no means rare where every endeavour is made to keep the middle peasants out of the management of the collective farm. I could adduce dozens of cases in which the pretext of "combating the Right deviation" has been used to deprive middle peasants of the superintendence of the cattle stables, in which middle peasants have been deposed from leading positions in the intermediate links of the undertaking for the reason that "It is necessary that all our leading positions are held by poor peasants", in which middle peasants have been excluded from taking part in the work of administration of the collective farm, so that they have left it. Frequently middle peasants are apparently permitted to take part in the management, but in reality they are given no work, even after being elected to the management. I have met middle peasants who were on paper active members of the collective farms, and in this capacity did watchman's service or looked after the store room. The percentage had been observed and the matter is settled! In such cases the middle peasant feels offended. He feels himself a stranger in the collective farm. Demands are put upon him, but he is given no work, nor is he invited to the meetings.

Of course this does not mean that the whole management is to be placed in the hands of the middle peasants. It need not be said that the leading positions will be held by the working class, the poor peasantry, the agricultural labourers. But unless middle peasants take part in the management, no firmly established agricultural undertaking can be organised.

In various circles of "superficial and semi-savants" a theory was temporarily popular which alleged that the collective farms were not advantageous to the middle peasant. In some "learned circles" it was asserted that the middle peasant only joined the collective because he was forced to do so, and because he hoped to save himself thereby from the grain collectors. Some sought to substantiate these assertions by stating that the middle peasant, during the first few years of the existence of a collective farm, is obliged to give up a certain amount of his income in favour of the poor peasant, and gains nothing personally through the collective farm. Experience has completely refuted this theory. It is a theory which collapses at once in face of the fact that the increased production of the collective farm, made possible by the increased area under cultivation, and by the intensified productivity of labour, has in many cases swelled to such an extent that not only are the revenues of the poor peasantry raised to the former middle peasant level, but the income of the middle peasants who are members of the collectives is increased in comparison with their previous income.

In view of the importance of this question, I appeal here not only to the Party Congress, but to all collective farmers and to all farmers "at present not yet in the collectivised farms".

The special commission sent to the Kuban district this year by the Communist Academy ascertained the following:

This year the collective farm "October" will attain a production to the value of 690 roubles per affiliated farm, the estimate being of a crop equal to that of last year. This means that the gross production of the collective farmer among the poor peasantry is doubled from 330 roubles, (when we assume that he derives no further income from individual utilisation), whilst the value of the production of the middle peasant increases from 540 roubles to 802 (one and a half as much), including the production obtained from the part of his former farm left to him for personal utilisation. These are the proportions in the case of an average harvest. In the case of such a crop as we may expect this year, the share of gross production falling to the middle and poor peasant is likely to be greater.

The reason of this is that last year 4 hectares per poor peasant farm were sown and 6.7 hectares per middle peasant farm, whilst this year the share falling to each collective farmers family is 8.2 hectares and 0.3 hectares for personal utilisation.

This gives an idea of the gross production and the almost corresponding receipts. But if we take the total revenue and deduct the statutory part, we find that the income of the middle peasant family in the collective farm exceeds its last year's income, and that of the poor peasant exceeds the former income of the middle peasant. (In order that there may be no misunderstanding, it should be repeated that in the above estimate it is assumed that the small peasant has solely the income derived from his socialised share, whilst the middle peasant has the usufruct of the part of his former individual farm.)

On the collective farm "October" in the Kuban district the market output will increase to a value of 500,000 roubles, assuring an average crop, in spite of the greater consumption at home, and even to 1 million roubles in the case of a good harvest, as compared with the value of 200,000 roubles attained by these same farms last year.

If the peasant has hitherto attributed every failure of crops to collective farming, then in compensation we may be permitted to claim for the collective farms and collective farmers a certain amount of credit for this year's good harvest.

A number of other inquiries have yielded similar figures. The inquiries instituted by the instructors of the head management of the collective farms show that in the collective "Volna Revolyuzi", Borisoglebsk, the share of the gross production per head of the collective farmer and his family amounts to a value of 545 roubles. For the poor peasant Mitin, P. Sergeyev, this means three and a half times their last year's production amounting only to 150 roubles. For the poor peasants Suslov and Bobkov, who attained a gross production from their fields to the value of 340 to 400 roubles, this means an increase by 50 per cent. And among the middle peasant the value of the gross output is increased by 120 to 130 roubles.

An inquiry made by the instructor of the head management of the collective farm "Stalin" in North Caucasia shows that the poor peasants Breshnev and Cherban will increase their income by 100%, Schimko and Bassov by 150%, and Yalin by 300%, whilst the increase among the middle peasants will average 50%. (Again after deducting the statutory sums.)

The Baschkir artel "Krasniy Majak" in Ural: This year an average of 95 poods of market grain has been produced per head of the artel members and their families, whilst last year the agricultural labourers joining the artel had no share in the grain produce, the poor peasants a share of 1 to 3 hectares, and the middle peasants one of 5 to 6 hectares, whereby these last produced an approximate of 60 poods of market grain per farm.

What does this mean? It means that the advantages of large-scale farming have enabled the income of the poor peasant members of the collectives to gain the middle peasant level in the very first spring, and the middle peasant income to be simultaneously raised.

Therefore the middle peasants join the collective farms! Therefore we are justified in the expectation that the middle peasants will all become members of collective farms! And therefore at the present stage we differentiate the development of the village population chiefly according to collective farmers and those "at present not yet collective farmers". Here, I again repeat, lies the difference between the methods employed in the Soviet Union for the organisation of large-scale farming, and those of the United States.

## 2. The Inequality among the Members of the Artels.

The next group of questions refers to the inequality among the members of the artels.

The principle of the matter is quite clear. Within a collective farm, a normal collective farm, there are no kulaks with the exception of those who have contrived to creep in on some pretext, and have not yet been removed by a purging process. And there are no exploitative relations. But the collectives still contain the element of inequality between the small and middle peasantry, in spite of the socialisation of the chief means of production, inasmuch as the middle peasant possesses a larger portion of his individual farm of which he enjoys the personal usufruct, than the small peasant. Therefore the poor peasants will more rapidly overcome prejudices of the small owner than the middle peasants. The middle peasants are more susceptible

to the influence of the kulak than the small peasants. The middle peasants are more anxious for the enlargement of the share left to their personal utilisation than the small peasants.

Whilst stating this, we do not forget for a moment that the inequality in the property relations between the members of the collective farms does not in the least signify the existence of antagonistic relations between them, inasmuch as here we have nothing in common with an appropriation of the unpaid labour of one section of the members by another. Hence the inequality existing in the property relations in the collective farms has no similarity to the inequality between the kulak and the poor peasant. Nor is it that inequality which we see in the fact.

Here there are two deviations which have been revealed in the course of the discussion before the Party Congress: Some maintained that in the collective we have the same inequality as in the factory; in other words, the middle and small peasants in the collectives are "equal". Others asserted on the contrary that within the collective farms the middle and small peasants stand in almost precisely the same relations towards each other as outside of the collective. Both stand points, it need scarcely be said, are absolutely incorrect.

The inequality among the industrial workers of the Soviet Union is caused chiefly by the varying qualities and quantities of the work, the varying qualifications of the workers. In the artel, on the other hand, where the production of the socialised economy is divided chiefly in accordance with the quality and amount of work done, this inequality exists and besides this another inequality, arising out of the different property relations, out of the varying extent of the share of their former farms allotted to the middle and small peasants for their personal utilisation.

To fail to observe this is equivalent to veiling the difficulties and representing the situation of the artel better than it is.

This further inequality in the position of the middle and small peasants in the artels, and the resultant difference in their situation, will continue to exist for a comparatively long time, since we are not of the opinion that it would be correct to liquidate the remaining individual section of the property of the artel members by any accelerated administrative measures. In the theses on this question we read:

"Those who demand that the peasant, after having joined the artel, should at once abandon his individualist habits and interests, or the possibility of contriving for himself additional earnings, besides those yielded by the socialised part of his property, by means of that part still remaining to him (cows, sheep, poultry, vegetables), forget the ABC of Marxism and Leninism."

As already Marx predicted as early as in his criticism of the Gotha programme, that a certain inequality cannot be avoided even during the first phase of the communist state of society among the workers, this Marxist thesis applies the more to the members of the artels.

This is the first deviation: The under-estimation of a certain inequality existing and unavoidable, in the first stage of the development of the artel, between the middle and small peasantry.

Matters are no better with regard to the second deviation, which interprets this inequality between the middle and small peasants as a class antagonism, and therefore attempts to apply the laws of the class struggle between the poor peasant and the kulak to the collective farms.

Ideas of this kind with regard to the reciprocal relations of the small and middle peasants are of course pure Trotzkyism. Only Trotzky could say:

"If the collective farm offers considerable advantages as compared with the scattered farms, then in collective farms the process of differentiation will proceed more rapidly than before." (Trotzky: Bulletin of the Opposition. February/March.)

We, on the other hand, are of the opinion that with the aid of the small peasants and agricultural labourers, members of the collective farms, we shall be able to work energetically for the extension of the socialised part of the incomes, and that this will inevitably lead at least to a reduction of the share of private income in the total income, and will reduce the inequality among the members of the artel to a point at which it is

based essentially on the varying quality and quantity of work. We shall not hasten unnecessarily over this, nor lose our heads; we shall accomplish this work in harmony with the growth of the socialised section of our collective farms. (Interjection: hear, hear!)

### 3. The Groups of Agricultural Labourers and Small Peasants.

The principles thus laid down give a complete answer to the question of where and when groups of the poor peasants must be formed in the collectives. The theses reply as follows:

"The work of the groups of the poor peasantry in the collective farms of the primary form must be improved and strengthened, as far as the transition from primitive associations to a higher stage of collectivisation can be secured only with aid of the poor peasants. The Party organisations in the collective farms must guarantee such an organisation of the work of the groups of the poor peasantry that they do not only defend the immediate interests of the poor peasantry, but promote the consolidation of the alliance between the working class and the village poor on the one hand and the middle peasantry on the other."

This means that pressure must be exercised upon the cooperative associations for the joint cultivation of the soil, upon a certain section of the artels, in which for some reason the danger arises of an exploitation of the socialised production for private accumulation, in which the influence of the kulak is penetrating (the kulak can exert influence even after the kulak has been liquidated as a class), and in which it is necessary to work intensively among the poor peasantry, even should there be no special poor peasant groups in the collectives concerned. The experience which has already been gained in work among the poor peasantry, both in the cases in which groups of the village poor have been formed and where none exist, shows that the substitution of general meetings by groups of poor peasantry in the collectives should be avoided. The conversion of the groups of poor peasantry into collective directors of the collective farms must be avoided, the administrative factor in the attitude towards the middle peasant must be avoided. The tendency towards the conversion of the poor peasant groups into distributive organs must be combated—the state of affairs in which all work, and only these groups have the distribution in their hands.

It is only by means of the avoidance of these errors that the work of the poor peasants will attain its object, that is to say, that it will contribute both to the protection of the immediate interests of the poor peasantry, and to the consolidation of the rôle played by the collective farmer as the main support of the Soviet power in the village.

### 4. The Reciprocal Relations between the Collective and the Individual Farmers.

The fourth group of questions: The reciprocal relations between the collective farmers and the individual peasants. In some districts there has been a wrong attitude against the individual peasants, an agitation against them; this has been caused externally by special devotion to the cause of the collective farm, but has in reality only injured that cause. This unjust attitude towards the individual peasants has in some cases been expressed in the curtailment of their share of land, even where there has been sufficient land for both collective and individual farmers, or in the allotting to the collective farms of fields which had already been prepared for summer sowing by the individual peasants in the autumn, in the refusal to admit new members to the collectives, in the refusal of the local organs to work among the individual farmers and to include their farms in the seed plan, in the demonstrative refusal to supply the individual farmers with goods which were obtainable in sufficient quantities, etc. It need not be emphasised that such an attitude is entirely wrong, completely contradicts the theses in which the small and middle peasantry are regarded as the collective farmers of the near future.

It must not be forgotten that "from now onwards the village is divided into two sections in the most important grain districts of the Soviet Union: Collective farmers actually forming a firm support of the Soviet power, and non-collective farmers, poor and middle peasantry, who have not yet joined the collective undertakings, but who will undoubtedly become convinced within a relatively short time, by the mass

experience of collective farming, of the necessity of deciding for collectivisation." (See theses.)

It is of extreme importance to keep in mind the second part of this formula. In this section of the theses we find not only that main slogan laid down—that we must look to the collective farmers for support—but the reference, of extreme importance both theoretically and practically, to those individual peasants who will decide for collectivisation within a comparatively short time.

Outside of the collective farms themselves, there are undoubtedly a great many "semi-collective farmers", "unofficial collective-farmers", who first wait for the results of the distribution of crops, and do not join the collectives before. Many of these "semi-collective farmers" took up collective farming methods this spring, without joining a collective farm.

A few examples of this: In a Ural village the individual peasants were organised in gangs during the sowing season, each gang being headed by a member of the village Soviet responsible for the fulfilment of the seed plan. The village Soviet, conjointly with the collective farm, put 16 sowing machines at the disposal of the individual peasants, each machine sowing 75 hectares. On 27th April all the individual peasants in an organised manner took up the field work.

Another example: the village of Lopatino on the Middle Volga. The individual peasants joined together to perform the field work, and removed the ridges between the fields.

In the village of Yablonov the poor and middle peasants formed a loosely-connected association. When it was proposed that they should form an organised community, they refused categorically: "We shall wait until the autumn, and convince ourselves as to how the crops are distributed".

The village of Antonovo, in Siberia. Here there is an agricultural artel and twelve loosely connected communities. In many of these communities the means of production are socialised.

In the village of Kosimka, in the Stavropol district, the small and middle peasants formed an "unofficial" collective farm, organised themselves in working gangs, and carried out the sowing work in common. On being asked why they did not join the collective farm, they replied: "We understand nothing about collective farming, or how the people live and work there". (Laughter.)

In the village of Permas (Veliki Ustyug) the individual peasants joined the working gangs of the collective farm during the sowing period. (Interjection: That is right!)

In the village of Verchine-Zarizyn, Stalingrad district, the individual peasants removed the field ridges when sowing, and subsequently joined the collective farm.

What does all this show? It shows that outside of the collective farms there are numerous peasants almost ripe to join them. The moment at which they join depends on the amount of help which they receive, upon the establishment of friendly and neighbourly relations between them and the collective farms, in a word, upon the realisation of the slogan contained in the theses: "No agitation against the individual peasant, but every possible help and inducement to join the collective farm."

The second factor which must be urgently stressed, with regard to the standpoint adopted toward the individual peasant, is the rôle played by the competition between the individual and the collective farmers during the sowing season this year. But little attention was paid by our press to this, although it is a matter of considerable importance. How did it come about that this year we cultivated almost 90 million hectares? Here the chief rôle was played by competition. After almost 25% of all peasant farms had joined together in collective farms, and the enormous possibilities in the hands of the collective farmer for the extension of the cultivated area became apparent, the individual peasants took up the work of tilling and sowing, in order to avoid being obliged to resign their land to the collective farmers.

The following protocol, taken down at the collective farm in the village of Lotozhy, Tver district, reflects this process of competition with almost stenographic faithfulness:

"The collective farmer Orlov declares: I am over 50 years of age, but I have never seen such work done. It is a perfect miracle to see a hectare ploughed daily by horse teams. I have never seen such a thing. Only it is a pity that there is no sugar. We come from work and

drink a pot of cold water. An inquiry should be made about sugar. We have not had any for three months. (Laughter).

Ivanov (individual farmer): The collective farm has ploughed every fragment of land. It should be suggested that the whole village should join forces to plough the top strips of land. That would certainly make another five hectares.

Judin (individual peasant): I have cleared a piece of thicket without waiting for anyone to propose it. The others must be aroused.

Ivan Yelkin (individual peasant): I have ploughed another third desyatina beyond the Yukov corner. I cannot get any further on account of the bog. (Laughter).

Yefrem Yelkin: I have been reproached here with not having ploughed part of my land. Comrades, the ground has been too damp up to now. To-morrow I shall begin with it.

The resolution was as follow: "All pieces of land not yet ploughed must be ascertained and jointly cultivated." (Interjection: Hear! hear!)

In this connection we must refer to the attitude to be adopted towards the so called "deserters", "fliers", or whatever they may be designated in the various districts, that is, towards those who have fled from the collectives, either because the bow has been drawn too tightly, or out of pure fear. There is a considerable number of these "deserters", and the question of what is to become of them is of some importance.

It is only natural that those who resisted this spring the temptation to leave the collective farm, and who have borne the risk of the first attempt to organise farming on these new lines, are not inclined to believe the "deserters" when they now return and recognise their mistake. But such trends of feeling are extremely dangerous from the political standpoint, because they lead to an isolation of the collective farm. An example of this:

In the village of Veschky, Lower Volga, 20 former collective farmers applied for re-admission into the collective. This was after the publication of Comrade Stalin's article: "A reply to our comrades the collective farmers." I quote one of these declarations:

"I and my wife, Yevdokiya Kotschetkova, send a greeting to Comrade Stalin for his right words. (Laughter.) I beg for a resolution according to his words, since I and my wife Yevdokiya, with my son Pavlucha and my daughters Alexandra and Sima, who is the youngest, are again in agreement with the collective farms. (Laughter.) To-morrow we shall appear with two horses and whole harness, to plough. We present them to the commune. The horses and the foal have been properly fed in the peasant way and the ploughing irons are new. (Laughter.) I beg the resolution to admit us as collective farmers according to dear (Comrade) Stalin's words. May he have good health. Tell the text of the resolution to Sima."

The collective farmers decided to admit the "deserters" as candidates, to form a penal working gang of them, to have them plough by themselves, and to give them a special gang foreman. (Laughter.) And the result? They refused to join the penal gang and remained individual farmers. The collective farmers, whilst imagining that they were acting most radically, actually pushed their neighbours back to individual farming.

Hence the sole restriction which can be put on the admission into the artel is the setting of a term during which admissions are made. In the interests of the sowing season, it will be perhaps advisable to defer admissions into the collective farm one to two months before the beginning of the sowing season, in order that the fields of both the collectives and of the individual farmers may not be disorganised. This question will obviously have to be treated in accordance with the local conditions. In this matter we must not submit to the mood of the collective farmers. We must guard against the tendency to close the doors of the collective. After the results of this year's sowing work, it is not difficult to close the doors of the collectives, to withdraw into a shell. But to do so means the stagnation of the collective movement. We cannot advance any such slogans. We regard the individual peasant of to-day as the collective peasant of to-morrow. We are carrying on the struggle to the express end that as early as this autumn numerous fresh strata may be added to

the existing collective farms. We are taking up the for winning these strata. This is to be seen from the And therefore our attitude towards the individual the small and middle peasant, is of the utmost imp (Applause.)

### 5. Voluntariness and Conditions of Withdrawal

The question of the relations between the voluntar into the collective and the conditions of withdrawal is bound up with all this.

In the introductory part of this report I stated that certain elements of discipline no social economy created. A difference must be made between the withdrawal from the collective farms which took place in spring, and which may possibly take place now, in autumn.

Withdrawals in spring: These were mainly members had been compelled by force to join the collectives, souls" whose names were registered in the membership but who never really belonged to them, and who left the collectives as soon as it turned out that there was no com The Central Committee of the Party, in giving to the people driven by force into the collectives the possibility of withdrawal, and thus exposing the pressure put upon the peasants as a direct violation of the Party directives the Soviet laws, thereby saved the collective farms.

The second possible kind of withdrawal is the withdrawal now, as result of faulty organisation, of lack of work discipline: The collective farm has not been able to settle disagreements which have arisen. Hence the efforts at withdrawal from the collective, especially on the part of the peasants who have something to fall back upon for the organisation of an individual farm. It may be safely asserted that there is to-day a tendency to leave a collective farm, which signifies that that collective farm is badly organised, in order and discipline rule, and that the agricultural and collective organs are to blame for failing to lend timely

If members leave a collective farm to-day because they are more stable servants than horses in the stable yard, because there are upper and lower farm servants, assistants on duty and their deputies, stable cleaners and stable superintendents, fodder foremen and buyers, and thousands of others, and yet the horses stand up to their kenes in the then there is only one remedy: The collective farm must be freed of this puffed up apparatus and really be helped to organise its economy. Hence the question of withdrawal from the collectives is a question of organisation. That 40 percent of the artels possessed no standard for the division of work in the first spring is pardonable and comprehensible, but in the second spring we shall regard such a state of affairs as a crime, and make the organs in question responsible for it

And finally, there is a withdrawal as a result of the suggestions of the kulak. The kulak wages war against the collective farm. In the collective there are a certain amount of elements with kulak inclinations, who would like very much to take with them ten to fifteen hectares of jointly cultivated ground, besides horses and implements, and the certainty that they are not going to be counted to the kulaks. The better the harvest, the greater the inclination on the part of these elements to leave the collective and to enrich themselves personally. Such elements can only be regarded as deserters.

That liberalism which is even prepared to hand over a part of the land of a collective to such a deserter, in spite of the direct prohibition contained in the statutes, must be regarded as actually giving support to the kulak. The confused left sectarian, who at first forced the peasants into the collectives, but is now ready to let them go at any time after dividing the cultivated land among them, is the most dangerous enemy of the collective farm.

The artel is not an inn, where anyone can go in. The millions of collective farmers have not tilled 33 hectares of land this spring in order to give an opportunity to those of kulak tendency to break up the collective. The collective farm is not an inn. Every peasant must grass before joining. That entry is voluntary does not by any means signify that the division is arbitrary. The conditions of withdrawal are laid down in the statutes. Here we repeat that joint land of the collective farm may not be divided in any circumstances. Anyone withdrawing from the collective receives a piece of land outside of the collective land

gives a piece of land outside of the collective land." (Applause.) When accounts are being settled with withdrawing collective farmers after the harvest, the principle of the inalienability of the joint land must be observed. I have spoken with dozens of collective farmers on this subject, and have asked them if this did not contradict the voluntary principle of entry into the collective. I have always received the same reply: "There is no other way of building up our economy; voluntariness does not mean the conversion of the collective farm into an inn." We declare this openly, not only to the collective farmers, but to the individual farmers contemplating joining the collectives. (Applause.)

## 6. Co-operatives for the Joint Cultivation of the Land. Artels and Communes.

Now a few words on the various forms of collective farms. The fundamental form of the collective farm, as stated in the decision of the Central Committee on 15th January and completely confirmed by experience, is the agricultural artel. At the present stage of collective agricultural development, the artel has become the main form, inasmuch as in it the decisively important means of production are socialised, and the mainly socialised economy is complemented by a certain amount of individual economy in forms acceptable to the middle peasant, and the further increase of the socialised income is ensured. The receipts of the artels are divided in the chain in accordance with the work done by the member of the artel or his relatives.

The model statutes are known to all. In the course of the spring a number of practical supplementary corrections have been made in these statutes, in the form of what are known as the executive directives of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the Soviet Union, and of the head management of the collective farms. With growing experience still further corrections will become necessary.

Care must, however, be taken that these model statutes are really utilised as model, and that the collective farmers draw up their statutes on these lines and make them binding.

The co-operative for the common cultivation of the soil is the transitional state to the artel. What is the essential character of this co-operative? The means of production are socialised, or, more strictly speaking, they are utilised in common only during the season of field work. The receipts are divided according to the amount of property placed by the member at the disposal of the joint work. The co-operative for the common cultivation of the soil is a permissible form of transition to the artel, and may become widely popular, temporarily, in a number of the districts of the shortage region and of the national regions.

What must the commune represent? The commune is distinguished from the collective farming movement by the community house and the complete equality. At the present time the community house and the equality of distribution are not the leading factors, for in the first stage of the communist state of society the distribution of the products of labour in accordance with the quantity and quality of the work done is unavoidable (otherwise the human beings of the old order of society will do no work). The leading factor — this is where the commune differs fundamentally from the artel — is the complete socialisation of all the means of production.

Dozens of examples might be given of communes which have greatly multiplied their receipts, and have organised their work most successfully, because they have not placed immediate stress on the building of a community house, nor on the absolute equality of all the members of the commune, nor upon the separation of the children from their parents, but on the development of dairy work, of pig breeding, of vegetable growing, and not only on a scale satisfying the needs of their own members, but for the provisioning of the towns, and have thereby observed the principle of dividing the receipts according to the quantity and quality of the work.

I must openly admit that when members of communes ask our advice as to the advisability of investing money in building a community house, or in socialised pig-styes, we reply to them: First of all you must organise your socialised live-stock breeding, your socialised cattle yard. Given this basis, your revenues will grow from day to day, and in two or three years you will be able to build any kind of community house you like. But if you begin with the community house and with the introduction of perfect equality, then the matter may turn out badly.

These are reasons rendering it necessary, as stated in the theses, that in the immediate future model statutes be drawn up for the artels, for the co-operative for the common cultivation of the soil, and for the communes.

## 7. The Question of the Cadres.

And finally the last question, the cadres. Here the point of chief importance is to utilise, promote and train the cadres growing up from below. Of all the organisational questions of collective farming development, the problem of the cadres is probably the most important. What cadres will be required during the next three years? If we have 400,000 tractors by the end of the Five Year Plan, this means that we need at least one million tractor drivers, chiefly from the ranks of the agricultural labourers and the young communists. The one-time agricultural labourers are extremely valuable as future tractor drivers. These are workers whose service in the new economy is a part of their personal liberation from kulak slavery.

Next come the foremen of the working gangs (field work, livestock breeding, etc.). These occupy positions similar to those of foremen in the factories. Skilled labour of this kind is still entirely lacking, and we shall have to train it. We need about 1.5 million persons.

Further, we need intermediate leading personnel: mechanics for the tractor stations, agronomists who do not merely draw up the plan of production for the collective farm, but are capable of carrying it out. These are not agronomists in the old sense of the word (these have only advised the peasantry); they must organise the agricultural undertakings. They are agronomic technicians. Our task here is laid down by the fact that hitherto there has been an enormous gap dividing the lower grades of qualification from the highest. We must fill up this gap with all speed. Up to the present there have been 1:3 agronomists of medium qualifications to each one of the highest qualifications, and now we must alter this proportion to 1:6. We require 500,000 agronomic technicians.

And finally the highly expert agronomists. These again are not agronomists in the old sense of the word. We need agronomic engineers capable of managing a specialised branch of economy, agronomists for the guidance of mechanisation. Therefore the old cadres of agronomists must relearn, and the fresh ones must be taught on the new lines. We need 90,000 such specialists.

In many countries, and under the conditions given by many economic structures, this task would be declared impossible of accomplishment. I have stated these figures in order to give an idea of the gigantic nature of the task set us, and upon which we must concentrate our utmost efforts. This applies most of all to the head management of the collective farms, for it will have to perform the greater part of the work of training new cadres.

The importance of the cadre problem is well known to our enemies, and they are already laughing jeeringly in expectation of our failure. The Mensheviks write as follows:

"... but the Russian village, as it is now, is perhaps capable of submitting to force and joining the collective farms in crowds. But it is not yet capable of creating the great number of economic captains required for the socialist ships." (Dalin: "The Perspectives of Collectivisation", "Sozialist Vestnik", 12th April 1930. No. 6/7.)

It is no easy task to make tractor drivers out of the illiterate or semi-illiterate peasants who are the collective farmers, nor is it easy to create organisers of areas of hundreds and thousands of hectares out of the small producers of yesterday, whose economic initiative has hitherto not reached beyond the confines of a farm of 5 hectares. But we have now considerable experience behind us. We have invariably solved the problem of our cadres by permitting ourselves to be guided by the principle that.

"... organisational talent is present to a great extent in the peasantry and in the working class, and this talent is just beginning to become conscious of itself, to awaken, to desire to strive towards the great living and creative work, and to take an independent part in the building up of the socialist state of society." (Lenin: "How shall we organise competition"?)

We are convinced that with every step which we take toward the development of the large-scale collective farms:

"... organisational talent will be given the possibility for advance, for participation in the administration of the State. This talent exists widely among the people. It is only suppressed. It must be helped to develop. It, and it alone, supported by the masses, can save Russia and the cause of socialism." (Lenin: "How shall we organise competition?")

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Comrades, these are the fundamentals. Enormous difficulties face us. We shall accomplish these new tasks under conditions in which the food supplies difficulties, especially with respect to livestock breeding, caused by small and dwarf peasant farming, are still extremely great.

Years will be required before the peasantry has really been reshaped, the prejudices of the small owner overcome, the artel converted into an actual free association of free workers.

Years of determined struggle will be required before the kulak is finally liquidated as a class. We have many violent and inexorable conflicts before us with the kulak and his agents, for it need not be said that the kulak will not abandon his position without a struggle, — no class doomed to extinction has ever done so.

More than once we shall see in the Party, as reflection of the resistance of the classes which we are liquidating, a re-appearance of the "Left" deviation, and especially of that Right deviation representing the chief danger at the present juncture, and reflecting the ideology of the kulak. These

deviations will endeavour to exploit this or that unavoidable difficulty to side-track the Party from the general line.

But however great the difficulties before us, we can say with pride: We have developed our industry in these few years, we have made the greatest sacrifices in order to give industry the force which it must possess as decisively important basis for the development of socialism, and during this time we have only been propagandists in the sphere of collective farming. We have said to the peasantry: These are the exemplars which you must follow.

It was not until the 15th Party Congress that the Party set itself the immediate task of creating collective agricultural undertakings.

Between the 15th and 16th Party Congresses we created on the Soviet and collective farms millions of collective farmers who withstood the vacillations in the spring and remained in the collectives, and formed a new stepping off ground for the further offensive for the organisation of socialist agriculture from North to South, from East to West, from grain cultivation to livestock breeding and the cultivation of technical plants.

Encouraged by the experience thus gained, we can state boldly that basing ourselves on the general line of the Party, correcting every error no matter where or by whom committed, we shall not permit anybody to prevent us from carrying out collectivisation to the end, and that is the creation of the socialist state of society. (Enthusiastic and prolonged applause.)

## Discussion on the Report of Comrade Molotov. (Full Report.)

### Comrade Abramov (Leningrad):

The report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union observed very correctly that in our practical work we do not pay sufficient attention to the questions of international education. This, however, does not mean that there is no interest in our Party and in the ranks of the working class of our country for questions of the communist world movement. On the contrary, the interest in the activity of the Communist International is great. This interest has sharpened particularly in connection with the fact that there were individual comrades in the delegation of the C.P. of the Soviet Union in the Executive Committee of the C.I. who took up a quite wrong and unbolshevist attitude.

With regard to the report of comrade Molotov, it must be said that our representatives have now taken up the correct bolshevist attitude. With their immediate co-operation and with the assistance of the Central Committee of our Party, the E.C.C.I. and the VI World Congress made a correct and bolshevistic analysis of the post-war period of capitalism, a correct Leninist analysis of the so-called third period of post-war capitalism. With the support of the representatives of the C.P. of the Soviet Union, the programme of the Communist International, the programme of the struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat was prepared, drafted and adopted. With their support the sections of the C.I. were consolidated and drawn closely to the E.C.C.I. The determined cleansing of the ranks of the Comintern both from the elements of Trotzkism and from the renegades from the right-wing camp, took place with the assistance of our representatives.

Whilst we are drawing up our account and expressing complete approval of the activity of the representatives of the C.P. of the Soviet Union in the E.C.C.I., we cannot go round the question of what standpoint the right-wing elements in the Comintern with Comrade Bukharin at the head took up in the questions of the Communist International. Comrade Neumann said that everywhere the right-wing renegades are playing the role of strike-breakers in the communist movement. This comes from the fact that the ideology of the right-wing opportunists is a defeatist ideology through and through. It is a revisionist ideology.

The Bukharin theory of "organised capital" is a defeatist theory for the proletarian revolution. Bukharin, who

obviously realised that he had drifted into a blind alley, declared suddenly, "Lenin connected the next revolutionary explosion directly with the coming war", that is to say from Bukharin's standpoint the development of the proletarian revolution is only possible in the perspective of an unavoidable imperialist war. Without war there is for Bukharin no revolution.

It is not necessary to say that the unavoidable phase of new wars contains many further sources of revolutionary explosions and will lead in the last resort to the collapse of the imperialist system. The revolutionary explosion itself results from the development and acute intensification of the class struggle in the epoch of imperialism and can therefore take place without war.

Our Party, and certainly the XVI Party Congress, completely approves of the recall of comrade Bukharin from the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. as the leader of the right-wingers and as the ideological representative of the defeatist theory. It is, however, not sufficient to recall him from the Presidium. Persons with a defeatist ideology must not be permitted to remain in the E.C.C.I.

The decision of the tenth plenary session of the E.C.C.I. declares that unless the conciliators conduct an active struggle against the right-wingers and show by deeds that they are opposed to the right-wing elements in the Comintern, they will place themselves outside the ranks of the Comintern. This decision must be a threatening warning for Comrade Bukharin. Unless Comrade Bukharin abandons his defeatist ideology and turns with determination against the right-wingers and conciliators he will, according to the decision of the tenth plenary session of the E.C.C.I., inevitably place himself outside the ranks of the Comintern (applause).

### Comrade Khitrov (Y.C.I.)

We have undoubtedly entered into a new phase of revolutionary advance. The successes of the Communist International in the struggle for the consolidation and bolshevisation of the Communist Parties following the VI. Congress are equally indisputable. Despite this, however, it must be placed on record that in the situation of a new revolutionary advance a number of the most important Communist Parties show a lagging behind in the organisational work as compared with the rate of the intensification of the class struggle, as compared with the growth of the revolutionary spirit and the activity of the masses.

In the Soviet Union we are able to register a gigantic tempo of development, but unfortunately this cannot be said of the work of our Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. The proletariat in the Soviet Union is attacking along the whole front, but in the most important capitalist countries the bourgeoisie is attacking whilst our Communist Parties have either failed altogether to organise a counter-attack on the part of the proletariat or have succeeded only partly. In this connection anxiety is caused by the circumstance that during the last few years there has been no numerical growth of our Parties (with the exception of the Communist Party of the United States), and that in a number of countries there has been a reduction in the membership figures, for instance, in France, in Czechoslovakia, in Great Britain, in Austria, in Sweden, etc. There is a strong process of fluctuation in the memberships of our Parties.

What are the causes of the unsatisfactory state of affairs in a number of our most important sections?

Many of our comrades like to talk about political mass strikes and about the counter-attack of the proletariat, but are unable even to organise the elementary economic struggles of the workers in the factories. Many comrades talk about social-fascism, but deny the necessity of working in the trade unions and regard all those workers who still follow the social democrats as a uniform fascist mass.

We can often observe a belief in revolutionary miracles, for instance in Austria where our comrades believed that the working class would rise spontaneously in a struggle against fascism in 1927 in connection with the taking over of power by the fascist Schober government. As this did not happen, the result was a certain disappointment amongst our Austrian comrades. The enthusiasm for agitation without deeds, for revolutionary phraseology is still very great in our organisations — in the Parties and in the Young Communist Leagues — coupled with helplessness and inability in practice to organise and lead the masses by tireless petty work.

In this connection it must be said that the daily practical Work of our sections, and in particular their organisational activity, shows great gaps. The majority of our organisations are not yet built upon a factory basis and they are therefore weak; in many cases there is no daily connection with the working masses in the large factories. The work for the connection of the individual branches of the organisation is also weak, and the concrete leadership is absolutely insufficient. Very often we can observe autocratic methods of work and a mechanical attitude.

The Y. C. I. is that section of the C. I. which has shown all these deficiencies recently in a particularly crass form. Having regard to the fact that the role of the youth has grown very considerable to-day, this gives special cause for anxiety. The role of the youth has grown particularly in connection with the threatening danger of war. The imperialist armies, like all others, are mostly recruited from the youth. The result of the coming war will depend very considerably on the spirit of the youth. The role of the youth in the factories is also growing in connection with the capitalist rationalisation. Our enemies are strengthening their organisations to win the youth. They are doubling and trebling their work amongst the working class youth. In the most important capitalist countries our enemies have captured from 40 to 50 per cent of the younger generation in the network of their organisations.

Our sections, however, the sections of the Y. C. I. remain small and narrow organisations of the politically mature advance guard of the proletarian youth.

This situation caused us to raise with all possible sharpness the question of the necessary turn on the part of our sections to mass work, at the V. Congress of the Y. C. I. This task was also specially stressed at the last enlarged plenary session of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. With the assistance of the Comintern we have exposed ruthlessly the weaknesses of our movement and raised the problem of the turn to the masses in all its importance.

The main blow is being delivered against the "left-wing" sectarian tendencies who are at present the chief hindrance to the development of our Young Communist Leagues into mass organisations. The "left-wing" danger in our sections is particularly great for a number of reasons.

At the same time we are fighting against the right-wing

tendencies which undoubtedly find their reflection in our ranks and which represent the main danger in the present period for the Parties and for the C. I.

By straining all our forces and continuing the struggle which we have recently taken up under the leadership of the Comintern, we shall carry out the turn towards mass work in our sections and shall succeed in maintaining the worthiness of the Y. C. I. to march in the front ranks of the Communist International (Applause).

### Comrade Moirova.

A characteristic feature of the present situation is the mass participation of the working women in the common revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. Everywhere we see the working women in the front ranks: the struggle in the Ruhr, the events in Lodz, where the working women formed a living barrier in front of the tramways in order to prevent them leaving the depots and breaking the general strike. It was the working women in Berlin who began the protest strike following on the May Day bloodbath. Then there was the struggle of the miners in a number of countries, the events in India and the events in China. Everywhere and always the working woman marched in the front ranks and they were very often the initiators of the bitterest struggles (applause).

This participation of the working women in the revolutionary struggle is connected with their economic situation in capitalist industry. The percentage of working women engaged in industry in all countries has grown tremendously as compared with the pre-war period.

The greater drawing in of women into industry in the period of stagnation, in the period of crisis has, however, undoubtedly resulted in a partial ousting of male labour power from the process of production, that is to say, in a general fall in the standard of living of the working class, because in the capitalist countries the wages of the working women are considerably lower than the wages of the male workers. At the same time, the possibility of substituting female for male labour is a means, in connection with the existing unemployment, to bring about a general reduction of wages.

The mass drawing in of women into the process of production intensifies the contradictions of the capitalist system because capitalist conditions afford no real maternal protection and do not free the working woman from her cares for the family and deprive the working class family of the housewife, the only protector of the home. In connection with all these things suicides are increasing, child mortality is rising, prostitution and crime in general are increasing as the accompanying circumstances of the decay of the capitalist system.

The reformist trade unions are steadily losing the few cadres of working women who formerly followed them. In the year 1924 in Germany the women members of the trade unions were 19 per cent of the total membership, in 1925 the female section had fallen to 18 per cent, in 1926 to 16.6 per cent, in 1927 to 15.6 per cent and by 1929 to 15 per cent. In Great Britain only 10 per cent of the trade union membership is composed of women workers. In Poland and Rumania the percentages are still lower, and in the United States the figure is from 1 to 2 per cent. The great mass of the working women at present engaged in the process of production is unorganised.

The last factory council election in Germany showed the social democracy that the majority of the working women follow the communists. In this connection the "Vorwaerts" wrote: "It is characteristic that in a number of cases unsatisfactory results were obtained in those factories where female labour predominates".

Recently numerous conferences organised by social-fascists, fascists and various parties, groups and tendencies have taken place aiming at winning the working women.

In their organisational work to-day our enemies use many methods which they have copied from us. They speak of the necessity of forming factory groups similar to the bolshevist factory groups, but with an ideology in accordance with that of the Christian and social-fascist organisations. They propose and are already carrying out the appointment of special factory organisers for the working women under various titles. They even dream of the organisation of a

delegate system. The greater attention which the hostile parties now pay to the question of the work amongst women is not only due to the general revolutionisation of the masses, but is also due to the fact that our Communist Parties are also turning their attention to the work amongst women. Therefore the practice of the right-wing deviation has maintained itself on this field of work more than on any other. This was expressed on the one hand in the fact that the work amongst the masses of the working women was left in the hands of the women themselves whilst the Party as a whole had nothing to do with it. On the other hand attention was not directed to the decisive proletarian women masses, namely to the working women in the factories. In accordance with the instructions of the E. C. C. I. the question of the work amongst women was discussed at all the Congresses of the Communist Parties which took place after the VI. World Congress. A series of resolutions were adopted admitting the previous insufficiency of the work amongst women and pointing to new ways for this work in accordance with the general policy of the Communist International.

The percentage of women in the membership of the Communist Parties is in general fairly high, but their social composition is by no means satisfactory. In this connection we are faced with a tremendous amount of work.

Dozens of women's conferences organised by our Party in Germany, the first national conference of working women, the factory councils election and the municipal elections showed that the working women follow the Communist Party of Germany. In the other countries also we are gradually beginning to apply new methods of mass work in the form of conferences. These conferences of working women organised by the Communist Parties are taking place almost all over the world.

We must raise this field of work to the necessary level in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union also. The leading role of the C. P. of the Soviet Union in the work amongst working women is of tremendous importance. The success of our work amongst working women on the international front of the struggle against capitalism depend to a certain extent upon the success of the work in the Soviet Union (applause).

### Comrade Skrypnik (Ukraine).

At one of the earlier congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union I pointed out in the discussion on the report of our representative in the Executive Committee of the Communist International that we organised too few actions in our Party and in the Soviet Union in the questions of the Comintern and in the questions of the life and activities of our brother parties.

It must be said, however, that in the period between the 15th and 16th Congresses the situation has completely changed. There are no important questions of the Comintern which are not discussed in our Party, in the local organisations and in the factory groups.

The international work of our Party has grown considerably. Above all circumstances are developing which demand joint actions, joint activity and an internal and political unity of the sections of the Comintern. Secondly, the questions of the Comintern were put up for discussion in our Party in connection with the activity of the right-wing opportunist elements amongst the representatives of the C. P. of the Soviet Union in the E. C. C. I. who were actually the leaders of the right-wing deviation in all sections of the Comintern.

At the Congress of the Comintern at which the leader of the right-wing opportunist deviation, the representative of the Soviet delegation in the E. C. C. I., Comrade Bukharin, drafted his first theses on the questions of the international situation in connection with the report of the E. C. C. I., the proposals which were, apart from the representatives of the C. P. of the Soviet Union, distributed amongst all the members of the E. C. C. I. were marked by a completely right-wing opportunist standpoint.

They formed essentially a platform which served as a starting point for all the right-wing elements in the German, Polish and all other Communist Parties.

Only the alteration of these theses and the clear attitude

of the Central Committee of the C. P. of the Soviet Union and its representatives in the E. C. C. I. towards the struggle on two fronts against all and any deviations and in particular against the open right-wing deviation and the conciliatory attitude towards it, only this clear attitude prevented Comrade Bukharin from continuing the work in the spirit of his policy which deviated from that of the C. P. of the Soviet Union. Last year at the session of the Political Bureau and at the plenary session of our Central Committee, the leaders of the right-wing opportunist deviation in our Party made declarations directed against the Comintern and its leadership, they declared that the Comintern policy led to splits and disruption instead of to consolidation. In view of this fact it is extremely significant that not one of the leaders of the right-wing opposition who signed the declaration against the leadership of the E. C. C. I. in January 1929, have exposed the untruthfulness of their slanders in the discussion at this Congress on the report of the representative of the C. P. of the Soviet Union in the E. C. C. I.

The situation of the Communist Parties in Western Europe and America shows that the right-wing opportunist deviation is obviously becoming hostile to the Party, that renegacy is becoming the hall mark of all right-wing opportunist tendencies. Therefore the continuation of the ruthless unswerving struggle against the right-wing deviation by the 16th Party Congress gains a still greater significance.

Further I will deal with the question which is playing a growing role in the developing events, the national question. The national deviations in their various forms are extremely dangerous. In the event of war the social fascists will try to exploit every fissure. I will quote as an example various expressions of Ukrainian nationalism, for instance, the Schumski tendency (the originator of this tendency in our Ukrainian party organisation has now abandoned his standpoint). We can clearly follow the role played by this national deviation in the life of the Western Ukraine. At the last elections to the Polish Seym the votes obtained by the treacherous parties of the Second International were the votes of those workers and peasants who were misled by the Schumski clique, by the Ukrainian nationalists who split away from the Comintern. This nationalist deviation prepared the ground for the extension of the influence of our enemy over the working masses. Then there was such a happening as the fact that individual communists amongst the 21 accused in the trial in the Western Ukraine, sunk so low as to declare before the court that they remembered with pride how in the year 1920 they fought for the independence of Poland, i. e. when the Polish bourgeoisie made its drive on Kiev. Here we can see the line along which this danger develops, the development of this deception which must become especially strong in case of warlike operations and an attack of world fascism on the Soviet Union. The standpoint of our Party in the national question is absolutely correct. The policy of our Party must be taken as a basis on which to intensify the work of the other Communist Parties on this field.

Let us take the case of the Ukrainian section of the Communist Party of Canada. The organisation of the Ukrainian communists in Canada is still national with the result that there is a certain cleavage between the Ukrainian communists and the rest of the Party. Such phenomena greatly weaken our work.

The commencing point of our communist organisation of the proletariat must be the class, the proletariat and not the nation.

One reads with pleasure that a special Ukrainian section has been formed in Cuba, that a special Ukrainian section has been formed in the Argentine, but one cannot help but ask: if the Ukrainian emigrants leave the nationalist camp and join us with the wish to fight against imperialism, but in a national isolation, in a national organisation, will they not perhaps represent a nationalist and therefore hostile element in our ranks and thus represent a great danger?

We must pursue our unswerving and bolshevist path, the path of an iron struggle against all deviations, against the right-wingers, the conciliators and the left-wingers, against all and every nationalist deviation from the policy of Lenin (applause).

(To be continued).