

INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 11 No. 37

9th July 1931

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.

CONTENTS

Politics		Trade Union Movement	
Th. Neubauer: Franco-American Unity	692	Musso: The "Victory" of the Berlin International in Indonesia	697
R. Bishop: The Political Situation in Great Britain	693	In the International	
The White Terror		O. W. Kuusinen: Are the Decisions of the E.C.C.I. Plenum to Remain on Paper?	698
Appeal Against Extradition of N'Guyen Ai Quoc and Serge Lefranc	694	Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union	
Against Imperialist War		S. Smidovich: The New Social Life in the U.S.S.R.	700
Bob: The Iraq Treaty and the Struggle for Hegemony in the Near East	695	In the Camp of Social Democracy	
The Labour Movement		✓ V. Knorin: The Vienna Congress of the Social Fascists	703
International Miners Appeal	695	Our Martyrs	
First of August: International Fighting Day Against War		Comrade Tsiang Tchu-fa	704
R. H.: The British Armament Concern	696	Obituary	
		W. Keller: Comrade Jean Winterich	704

The New Situation and the New Tasks of the Socialist Constructive Work.

By J. Stalin.

Full Text of the Speech, Delivered to the Conference of Soviet Economists and Industrial Leaders Held in Moscow on the 23rd June 1931.

Comrades!

The material which lies before you shows that as far as the carrying out of the plan is concerned, our industry offers a rather variable picture. In some branches of industry production has been increased during the first five months of the current year by forty and fifty per cent. in comparison with the same period last year. There are other industries which show an increase of production ranging from twenty to thirty per cent. in the same period, and there are still other industries which have increased their production by very little, by six and ten per cent. and even less. The coalmining and foundry industries are in this last category. As you see, a very uneven picture.

What is the reason for this variation? Why are some industries lagging behind? Why have some industries only from twenty to thirty per cent. increases to show, and the coalmining and foundry industries even less?

The reason is to be sought in the fact that recently the conditions of development of our industries have changed funda-

mentally and that a new situation has been created which demands new methods of work, but that unfortunately some of our economic leaders have failed to change their methods of work and go on in the same old way. The thing is therefore that the new conditions of development demand new methods, whilst a number of our economists and industrial leaders fail to realise that a new sort of leadership must be introduced.

This is the cause for the backwardness of a number of branches of our industry.

What are these new conditions of our industrial development? By what are they caused?

There are at least six such new conditions.

Let us examine them more closely.

1. The Question of Labour Power.

Here it is a question of supplying the factories with the necessary labour power. Formerly the workers went into the factories etc., on their own initiative, that is to say, the matter was more or less automatic. This automatic system was

conditioned by the existence of unemployment, by the fact that class differences existed in the villages, that there was misery, that fear of starvation existed and drove the masses from the rural districts into the towns. You remember of course the phrase: flight of the peasants to the towns. What caused the peasants to flock to the town? It was from fear of starvation, unemployment, the fact that the village was a sort of wicked stepmother. The peasant was anxious to run away, to enter hell itself, providing that he could obtain some sort of employment.

This was the situation or almost so, here not so very long ago.

Can it be said that the same situation or a similar situation exists to-day? No. On the contrary, the situation has fundamentally altered. And just because the situation has altered we no longer have an automatic labour supply. What has actually altered in the meantime? First of all, we have succeeded in abolishing unemployment, that is to say, we have got rid of the power which exercised pressure on the "labour market". And secondly, we have fundamentally altered the class relations in the villages, that is to say, we have overcome that mass misery which formerly drove the peasants into the towns to look for work. And then we have supplied the villages with tens of thousands of tractors and other agricultural machinery, we have defeated the Kulaks, we have organised collective farms and given the peasants the possibility of living and working like human beings. To-day the village can no longer be termed the stepmother of the peasants, and because of this the peasants are remaining in the villages, the "flight of the peasants to the towns" has ceased and we no longer have an automatic supply of labour power.

As you see, we have a completely changed situation and new conditions for the supply of labour power to the factories.

What is the conclusion to be drawn from this fact?

The first result is that we can no longer rely on any automatic supply of labour power for our factories. This means that we must abandon the "policy" of letting labour supply regulate itself automatically, and must proceed to a deliberate policy of organised recruiting of labour power. There is only one way of doing this, and that is the conclusion of agreements between the soviet economic organisations and the collective farms and their members. You know that a number of economic organisations and collective farms have already adopted this method and that the results obtained have been very satisfactory for both parties concerned.

The second conclusion to be drawn is that we must proceed as quickly as possible to mechanise the most difficult labour processes. Mechanisation must be developed in all branches of industry. (forestry, building, coalmining, transport, loading and unloading, foundry work, etc.). This of course does not mean that hand labour is to be abolished altogether. Hand labour will continue to play an important rôle in production for some considerable time. However, it does mean that the mechanisation of the labour process is that new and decisive force without which we cannot maintain the rate and volume of productive progress which we have at present.

There are still quite a number of economists and industrial leaders who do not "believe" in the mechanisation and in the conclusion of agreements between the soviet economic organisations and the collective farms. These are the people who fail to understand the new situation, who do not want to adapt themselves to changed conditions and who sadden after the "good old times" when labour power marched into the factories of its own accord. It is hardly necessary to point out that such people are totally incapable of understanding the tasks set by the new situation, much less then of carrying them out satisfactorily. Apparently they believe that our labour power difficulties are quite fortuitous and that they will disappear on their own in time. That is an error, comrades. The labour supply difficulties will not disappear automatically. We can only overcome these difficulties with tremendous efforts.

In consequence it is our task to obtain labour power in an organised fashion by means of agreements with the collective farms and by freeing labour power by the introduction of mechanisation.

So much for the first new condition of our industrial development. We now come to the second condition.

2. The Wage System.

I have just dealt with the question of organising the labour supply for our factories. The recruiting of labour power for our factories is only one side of the problem. In order to solve this problem completely we must strive to hold the workers in the factories, to make the staffs of the factories more or less permanently stable. It is hardly necessary to point out that without a permanent staff of workers who have mastered the technique of production more or less and who have become accustomed to the new mechanism, there can be no question of further progress, of or carrying out our production plans. If this were not the case, then we would have to be continuously teaching new workers their jobs and half the time would be lost in this training before we could use them in the factories. What is the actual situation to-day? Can we say that our factory staffs are more or less permanent? No, unfortunately we cannot say that with truth. On the contrary, our factories still suffer from what is called the fluctuation of labour power. Still worse, in a number of factories this fluctuation of labour power is not on the decrease, but on the increase. In any case, we have very few factories which have not changed their staffs to the extent of thirty or forty per cent, within the last six or even three months.

Formerly, in the period of reconstruction of industry, when the technical equipment of our factories was still comparatively simple and when our production was not on a very large scale, it was possible to tolerate this fluctuation. To-day the situation has changed. To-day we are in a period of gigantic constructive work, production is assuming a tremendous scale, the technical equipment of our factories is becoming extremely complicated, and as a result the fluctuation has become a curse which is disorganising our factories.

To tolerate fluctuation to-day would mean to disorganise our industries, to destroy the possibility of carrying out our production program and to lose all possibility of improving the quality of our production.

What is the cause of this fluctuation of labour power?

The cause is to be found in the wrong organisation of wage system, in the wrong tariff system, in the ultra-left tendency to equalise wages. In a number of factories the tariffs have been drawn up in such a fashion that there is almost no difference between the wages paid to qualified and those paid to unqualified workers, in those paid for heavy work and those paid for light work. The result of this levelling up of wages is that the unqualified workers feel little desire to qualify themselves for the performance of higher tasks. Such workers feel themselves as "temporary guests" in the factories. They are working for the moment in order to earn something and then to pack their traps and "try their luck" somewhere else. The equalisation of wages causes qualified workers to wander from factory to factory until they find a place where their qualifications are valued.

This is the cause of the general drift from factory to factory on the part of our labour power.

In order to stop this fluctuation the equalisation tendency must be abolished and the old tariff system smashed. A tariff system must be worked out which takes into consideration in wages the differences between qualified and unqualified labour power, and between heavy and light labour. It is intolerable that a highly-qualified turner should be receiving the same wages as a labourer. It is intolerable that a locomotive driver should be receiving the same wages as a porter. Both Marx and Lenin have pointed out that wage differences will continue to exist under socialism, even after the abolition of the classes. These differences will cease to exist only under a system of pure communism. Even under socialism "wages" will be determined according to the work performed and not according to needs. However, our levellers amongst the economists and labour unionists are not in agreement with this and assume that these differences must disappear in our soviet system. Who is right? Marx and Lenin or our levellers? Let us assume that Marx and Lenin are right. The conclusion from this assumption must be that whoever attempts to work out a tariff system on the levelling basis and irrespective of the difference between qualified and unqualified labour power, is abandoning Marxism and Leninism.

In all branches of industry and in all factories there are leading groups of more or less qualified workers, and these

groups must be deeply rooted in the factories if we are ever to have permanent staffs for our factories. These leading groups of workers are the main link in the whole chain of production. It is our task to give them roots in their factories and workshops, to give the factories permanent staffs, to make an end of this fluctuation of labour power.

But how are we to keep these workers in their factories? This can only be done by assisting them to make progress, by giving them higher wages, to organise the tariff system in such a fashion that qualification is given its due reward. What does this mean, to assist the progress of these workers and to raise their wage standards? It means above all that the unqualified workers are given a chance to improve their position, that they will receive an incentive to rise into the ranks of the qualified workers. You are well aware that we need hundreds of thousands, even millions of qualified workers. But in order to obtain these qualified workers we must give the unqualified workers an incentive to qualify themselves, an incentive to work their way up. The greater daring and courage we show in this connection, the quicker will we succeed in abolishing fluctuation, for this represents the most important means of doing so. Economies in this matter would be criminal, would be in opposition to the interests of our socialist constructive work.

However, that is not all.

In order to keep the workers in their factories their daily needs must receive more attention, supplies must be improved and the housing conditions must be bettered. It cannot be denied that very much has been accomplished recently with regard to supplies for the workers and housing, but what has been done is not sufficient having regard to the growing needs of the workers. We cannot be content with pointing out that formerly there were still fewer homes for the workers than there are to-day. We cannot be content with pointing out that the supplies for the workers were much worse formerly than they are now. Only stick-in-the-muds can console themselves with the past. The basis of operations must not be the past, but the growing needs of the workers in the present.

It must be realised that the conditions of living of our workers have changed fundamentally. The worker of to-day is not the same as the worker of former years. The worker of to-day, our soviet worker, demands that all his needs be satisfied, both material and cultural needs. He demands a sufficient supply of food, a decent house to live in and opportunities to develop himself culturally and otherwise. He has the right to demand these things and it is our duty to see that he gets them. The soviet worker does not suffer from unemployment, he has been freed from the yoke of capitalism, he is no longer a slave, but the master of his environment. But that alone is not enough. He demands that his cultural and material needs be satisfied, and it is our duty to see that they are.

Do not forget that we approach the workers with certain demands—we demand labour discipline from him, concentration on the labour process, socialist competition, the shock group movement. Do not forget that the overwhelming majority of the workers have taken up these demands with enthusiasm and carried them into operation heroically. Therefore you must not be surprised when the workers who are fulfilling the demands put to them by the Soviet power, themselves demand that the Soviet power should fulfil certain duties towards the workers with regard to the improvement of the material and cultural situation of the working class.

To sum up, our task is to liquidate the fluctuation of labour power, to abolish the levelling tendencies, to organise the tariff system correctly and to improve the living conditions of the working class.

This is the situation with regard to the second new condition of development.

I shall now deal with the third condition.

3. The Organisation of Labour Power.

I dealt just now with the necessity of abolishing the fluctuation of labour power and of keeping our workers in their factories. However, this is not the whole of the problem. The abolition of the fluctuation of labour power alone is not enough, the workers must further be given conditions in which they can work with enthusiasm and get the most out of themselves, in which they can improve both the quality and the quantity of production. In other words, it is necessary to organise the

work in the factories in such a fashion that the productivity of labour power increases from month to month and from quarter to quarter.

Can it be said that the present organisation of work in the factories is exemplary, that it is in accordance with the demands of production? No, unfortunately we could not say this with any truth. In any case, there are many factories in which work is organised very badly, where disorder and confusion exist instead of organisation and efficiency, where lack of responsibility exists instead of the principle of personal responsibility.

What does that mean, a lack of personal responsibility? A lack of personal responsibility means the lack of any sort of responsibility for the work undertaken, lack of responsibility and care for the mechanical equipment, for the machinery, for the instruments of production. Naturally, where there is no personal responsibility there can be no question of any serious and permanent increase of the productivity of labour power, or of any considerable improvement of the quality of production, or of any real care for the mechanical equipment, etc. You know to what results the lack of personal responsibility has led on the railways. The same results are showing themselves in industry. We have abolished the lack of personal responsibility on the railways, and the work of the latter has improved. We must do the same in industry and we shall then obtain the improvement.

Formerly it was possible for us to put up with the incorrect organisation of labour power, an incorrect organisation which went very well with the lack of personal responsibility, with the lack of responsibility of the individual for the concrete work undertaken. To-day however the situation is different. With the present gigantic scale of production and the existence of giant undertakings, the lack of personal responsibility is such a serious danger that all our organisational and productive gains in the factories are threatened by it.

How was it possible that this lack of personal responsibility in the work could get such a footing in many of our factories? It entered the factories as an illegal companion of the uninterrupted labour process, although of course it would be wrong to say that the uninterrupted labour process necessarily brings with it a lack of personal responsibility in the factories. With the correct organisation of labour power, with the organisation of individual responsibility for everyone engaged for a certain piece of work, by keeping definite groups of workers at definite mechanism and machinery, by correctly organising the shifts, by seeing to it that these shifts are equal in quality and qualification, under such conditions the uninterrupted labour process can lead to a tremendous increase of the productivity of labour power, to an improvement of the quality of labour power and to the re-establishment of the principle of personal responsibility. This is at present the situation on the railways where the uninterrupted labour process has been introduced without causing a lack of personal responsibility.

Can one say that the situation in the factories is the same with regard to the uninterrupted labour process? Unfortunately we cannot with truth. The situation is that in many factories the transfer to the uninterrupted labour process was carried out too quickly, the preliminary conditions were not properly prepared, the shifts were not properly organised, no care was taken to see that the shifts were more or less equal with regard to quality and qualification, and no personal responsibility was attached to the individual for each piece of concrete work. The result was that the uninterrupted labour process developed arbitrarily a lack of personal responsibility as a system. The result is that in a number of factories the uninterrupted labour process exists on paper, whilst the lack of personal responsibility exists not on paper but in actual fact. The result is a lack of conscientiousness for the work, carelessness towards the mechanical equipment, mechanical breakdowns as a mass phenomenon, and the lack of all incentive to increase the productivity of labour. The workers are justified when they say: "We would increase productivity and improve our work, but what is the use when no one is responsible for anything?"

Again the result was that in some factories the uninterrupted labour process was introduced overquickly and then permitted to develop into a system in which there was no personal responsibility. There are two ways to abolish this system and to overcome the lack of personal responsibility: Either the conditions for the introduction of the uninterrupted

labour process must be altered in order that this system does not develop a lack of personal responsibility, as was the case on the railways, or where favourable conditions for such an attempt are not present, the uninterrupted labour process which exists on paper must be abandoned and a temporary return made to the six day week, as was done a little while ago in the Stalingrad Tractor Factory, in order that the conditions necessary for a real introduction of the uninterrupted labour process can be prepared, an uninterrupted labour process with the existence of personal responsibility.

There are no other solutions of this problem.

There can be no doubt about the fact that our economists and industrial leaders are well able to understand this situation. But yet they remain silent. Why is this? Obviously because they are afraid of the truth. Is it not true that in a number of our factories which have introduced the uninterrupted labour process, this has developed a lack of personal responsibility and that in this way the uninterrupted labour process has been caricatured? The question must be raised: Who needs such an uninterrupted labour process? Who dares to say that the maintenance of such a system on paper and in a caricatured form is above the interests of the real effective organisation of labour power, the interests of the development of the productivity of labour power, the interests of the real uninterrupted labour process, the interests of our socialist industry? Is it not clear enough that the sooner we bury this "uninterrupted" labour process which only exists on paper, the sooner we can organise the real efficient uninterrupted labour process?

Some comrades seem to think that the lack of personal responsibility can be made up for by appeals and long speeches. In any case, I know a number of economists and industrial leaders who confine their struggle against the lack of personal responsibility to such methods. They appear in meetings here and there and thunder against the lack of personal responsibility and apparently they assume that after their castigation of this evil it should disappear on its own accord. They are in error if they believe that the lack of personal responsibility can be abolished from our practical work by no matter how many speeches and appeals.

Comrades, the lack of personal responsibility will never disappear on its own. It must be destroyed by our action. We are in power and we are responsible for everything, including this lack of personal responsibility. It would be much better if our economists and industrial leaders would extend their activities against the lack of personal responsibility beyond the confines of speech and appeals, and would spend one or two months in the factories and mines and there study all the "little details" of our labour power organisation, there abolish the lack of personal responsibility and then make use of the experience gained there in other factories etc. That would be much better. That would be a real struggle against the lack of personal responsibility, a real struggle for a correct bolshevist organisation of labour power, a real struggle for the correct distribution of labour power in the factories.

To sum up, the abolition of the lack of personal responsibility, the improvement of the organisation of labour power, and the correct distribution of labour power in the factories—that is our task.

This is the situation with regard to the third new condition of our industrial development.

(To be concluded.)

„Rote Fahne“ Prohibited for 14 Days.

Berlin, 7th July 1931.

To-day the Berlin police suppressed the „Rote Fahne“, the official organ of the Communist Party of Germany, for a period of 14 days up to and including the 21st July.

The police statement declares that the prohibition is because of the statements concerning the presence of plain-clothes and armed police amongst demonstrating workers. The basis of the „Rote Fahne“ statements was the evidence given by the police at the trial of two unemployed workers. Even the bourgeois press, for instance the „Vossische Zeitung“, felt compelled to protest against the police practices.

POLITICS

Franco-American Unity.

Economic Catastrophe Approaching.—The Exploitation and Enslavement of the Toiling Masses to be Intensified.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

After tedious negotiations which lasted over two weeks and brought fresh difficulties almost every day, an agreement has at last been reached between Paris and Washington. French imperialism has obtained what was most important for it, a guarantee that the Young Plan system will be maintained. In this most important point Hoover was compelled to give way in order to save his project from complete shipwreck, and this represents for the German bourgeoisie the heaviest blow, for it had hoped that after the "Reparations Holiday" the tribute payments would not be continued in the old fashion.

The "formula of agreement" come to between Mellon and Laval declares that France is in agreement with the moratorium for the Young Plan payments, but only on condition that the uncovered sums to the extent of 612 million Marks shall be paid into the Bank for International Settlements. The only concession France was prepared to make in this matter was that the payments might be made in bonds guaranteed by the Reichsbahn.

A further success achieved by the French politicians is that the payment of the sums under the moratorium shall begin on the 1st July 1933 and be settled within a period of ten years, although Hoover originally planned that this period of repayment should be one of 25 years. For the German bourgeoisie this means a considerable worsening of the Hoover Plan, for under these terms the amount of reparations payable increases by 200 million Marks annually from the 1st July 1933 on. And finally, France has succeeded in obtaining credits to the extent of 25 million dollars for its pocket States from a loan to be floated by the Central Banks, and that in case of a German moratorium France would have the advantage of an instalment payment of its guarantee funds into the B.I.S.

This agreement also contains a number of provisions which make it considerably more disagreeable for the German bourgeoisie. France reserves the right to demand "absolute guarantees" from the German government that the facilities granted under the moratorium are utilised for economic purposes and not for armaments. The German Prime Minister Brüning has already given this guarantee to the American Ambassador Sackett, but now he is to make the same guarantee officially in Paris! What this undertaking actually means the German government will discover should it attempt to continue its previous armaments policy. Originally the French government had demanded that the German government should give an unequivocal guarantee to abandon its naval building program. The present demand is the same, but couched in more careful and vaguer terms, whereby however, the significance remains clear enough.

Germany's submission to the worsened Hoover Plan is undoubtedly a very severe defeat for the German bourgeoisie. There can no longer be any question of a revision of the Young Plan, and the hope that the "World Reparations Holiday" would be the introduction to such a revision, must now be buried. The actual respite which the German bourgeoisie will receive under the Franco-American plan will be only very short and in addition it will be connected with strict political conditions. The 1,600 million Marks which will be released under the Moratorium will be swallowed up by German capitalism without resulting in any fundamental improvement in its economic situation. And then after the Hoover year come the increased reparations payments.

However, what can the German bourgeoisie do but accept the Hoover Plan in its revised form? To reject the plan would be a very dangerous business. Up to the present the Reichsbank has lost two milliard marks of foreign currency and gold. In addition, the losses of the other big German banks probably amount to a further milliard Marks. The rediscount credit of 400 million Marks placed at the disposal of the Reichsbank by British, French and American Banks and the B.I.S. has already been used up. In addition a rediscount credit of the Gold Discount Bank has been taken up to the extent of 50 million dollars,

and there is in all probability not much left of this either. On the 5th July the Administrative Council of the Reichsbank met to consider the question whether it was possible to go below the legal 40 per cent. covering for banknotes, or to abolish this legal covering altogether. However, the Council had not sufficient courage to grasp the very vicious nettle. It realised that in the present situation any such action would make the general panic supreme.

Will the Paris agreement stop the flight of foreign currency and gold from Germany, as the Administrative Council of the Reichsbank fondly hoped? Not even the German bourgeoisie dares to hope this. Last Autumn's experience when under the impression created by the September Reichstag elections a similar gold and currency flight set in which cost the Reichsbank over a milliard Marks and the private gold banks about three-quarters of a milliard Marks, proves the contrary. At that time the flight continued for several months. It will not stop now as the result of the Paris agreement, and to-day it hits German capitalism much harder, than it did last Autumn.

The Reichsbank has already been compelled to sharpen its credit restrictions. As a result interest on loans to first class firms has risen to 9 and 11 per cent! Further, it is a question how long these credit restrictions can be maintained without having in their turn the most serious effects on the German capitalist system, for the private banks have also very little gold and foreign currency at their disposal. It is hardly likely that the Paris agreement will bring any immediate relief to the tottering German money and credit market. Above all, the flight of German capital will not cease because the reasons which caused it continue to be effective—the panic-stricken fear of a collapse of German capitalism.

The aggravation of the German crisis which began at the end of May and forced the Reichsbank to the verge of inflation in the middle of June, is only the outward expression of the severe shaking experienced by the German capitalist class and confirms the correctness of the estimation of the situation in Germany made by the last Plenary Session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Germany is really one of the weakest links in the chain of world imperialism.

The crisis of German capitalism will not be lessened by the Hoover Plan, not even if the German bourgeoisie succeeds in obtaining in addition to the moratorium further large credits from international finance capital. The situation would remain precarious because German capitalism is unable to solve the fundamental problem of the crisis, the sale of its production. All the financial undertakings of Germany only lead to a further burden on the German economic system and further difficulties in the disposal of its commodities. The milliards lost on the German money market alone must lead to a further aggravation of the economic crisis.

The German bourgeoisie will of course do its best to unload these new burdens which have been caused by its action, onto the shoulders of the masses. Despite the fact that we are now at the height of the Summer employment season, new mass dismissals are being carried out, and at the same time the pressure on wages is being increased to such an extent that even the bourgeois Labour Minister Stegerwald has been compelled to warn his friends against overstraining the bow because this would aggravate the political crisis considerably. As a rapid increase of the unemployment figures is expected for the coming months, the Labour Ministry is already working out a new Emergency Decree to cut still further all unemployment insurance benefits.

The "benefits of the Hoover Plan" for the workers represent nothing but an intensification of their already intolerable situation. The Germany bourgeoisie may feel itself once again "saved" from the threat of a bolshevist revolution, but in fact the communist movement is strengthening every day and winning newer sections of the toiling population, including the impoverished middle classes and the poor peasants. The gigantic accomplishments of the Five Year Plan, and the rapid progress of socialism in the Soviet Union, are making a tremendous impression on the working masses in Germany, and the shameless and perfidious campaign of anti-Soviet incitement conducted by the social democratic press cannot alter this. The salvation of the German working people will not come from the dollar and not from New York. Only communism can save Germany!

The Political Situation in Great Britain.

By R. Bishop (London).

The Hoover proposals for a Reparations Moratorium were welcomed with one voice by the whole British capitalist press ranging from the "Morning Post" to the "Daily Herald", and according to the same press the proposals resulted in a general rise on the London Stock Exchange as on the Stock Exchanges of other countries. Huge fortunes were made out of this sudden speculative boom.

Behind this enthusiasm for a suspension of interest payments on the part of those who a few years ago were insistent on the last penny being extracted lies something more than mere altruism. British capitalism is engulfed in crisis and in this crisis is prepared to seize at any straw that may serve even temporarily to stabilise affairs. The Hoover proposals, however, have not solved the crisis of British capitalism. It goes too deep for that. But now the press is full of the "new atmosphere" that has been created, and the "Daily Telegraph" in a leading article appeals to the miners to accept a lengthening of the working day, so as not to prejudice the chance of recovery offered to capitalist industry by the Hoover proposals, which were hailed in the first instance as a noble sacrifice and the dawn of a new era.

The proposals do not mean less unemployment in Britain but more competition between the Imperialist powers for those markets previously supplied by German reparations. Imbued by fear of the coming German revolution the American capitalists want at one stroke to save the millions they have invested in Germany and to grab new markets. The British Government will try to play the same game.

Unemployment grows by leaps and bounds, every basic industry is in decline far beyond the powers of the Hoover proposals to remedy.

As this decline develops so does the political situation become more complicated. Despite the fact that every opportunity is seized by capitalist publicists to preach of trade revival there is a growing scepticism amongst workers and exploiters alike as to the possibilities of any such thing occurring.

Until the General Election of 1929 vast numbers of workers still retained a firm belief that the advent of a Labour Government would bring an end to the depression that had weighed heavily upon them for so long a period. Two years of Labour Government, however, has served to bring disillusionment to the majority of these. Those who were enthusiastic supporters of the Labour Party prior to 1929 are at the most luke-warm in their attitude to-day, regarding the government merely as a lesser evil than a Conservative Government. Many others have progressed beyond this stage and realise that as between the old capitalist parties and the comparatively new capitalist Labour Party there is nothing to choose.

The result is to be seen at every by-election where the Labour vote shows a consistent decline averaging 4,000 per contest.

A similar position reigns in the Conservative Party, to a lesser degree. Here one finds strong elements of the bourgeoisie dissatisfied at the inability of their party to stem the tide of industrial depression and colonial revolt. Consequently despite the growing disgust with the Labour Government the Conservative vote shows only a minute increase on their General Election figures which were, of course, far below their figures of the previous General Election owing to the big swing towards the Labour Party which characterised the General Election of 1929.

As regards the Liberal Party it has ceased to have any electoral pull whatever; at by-election after by-election it registers a decline often amounting to as much as 50 per cent of its 1929 vote. Of recent months the Liberal Party has failed to contest the majority of by-elections, even in those constituencies where it recorded good votes in 1929. An attempt has been made by means of collusion between the Liberal and Labour Parties' head offices to secure the erstwhile Liberal vote for Labour, but in every recent instance the figures have made it clear that the local Liberal electors will not fall in line. Usually about 50 per cent. have abstained from voting whilst the remainder in the main have divided their allegiance between Conservative and Labour.

These circumstances have presented an opportunity for Fascist elements to show their head, and movements emanating from both Conservative and Labour camps have been started. The

first serious movement of this kind was the **Empire Crusade of Lord Beaverbrook**, the newspaper magnate, alongside of which was formed as a complementary body the **United Empire Party**, headed by **Lord Rothermere**, another newspaper peer. These bodies came out with a demand for a high protective tariff, for the strong hand in India, and for the rupture of relations with the U.S.S.R. and a boycott of goods coming from that country.

At three by-elections (**Bromley, Paddington and Islington**) these fascists put up candidates in opposition to official Conservative candidates and so well did they do that they won **Paddington**, beat the official Conservative candidate at **Islington**, letting the Labour candidate in, and came within a thousand or so votes of the official Conservative candidate who held the seat at **Bromley**.

These successes were sufficiently striking to cause the Conservative central office to come to an agreement with the **Empire Crusaders** and to pledge themselves to a considerable proportion of their programme.

Simultaneously with this move the millionaire motors manufacturer, **Sir William Morris**, in conjunction with the late **Lord Melchett**, called a meeting of leading industrialists, and financiers out of which was born the **National Council of Industry and Commerce** which has for its aim the establishment of a special industrial parliament, to be the real government of the country relegating to the existing parliament mere detail work. Their programme includes in the forefront wage reductions and rationalisation so that production costs may be reduced "to an economic level". They also demand high tariffs, empire free trade, a firm hand in India and open opposition to the U.S.S.R. This body has huge funds at its disposal and is of course supported by the **Empire Free Trade press**.

The third new body of a fascist character is the **New Party**, founded by **Sir Oswald Mosley** who resigned office in the Labour Government just prior to the formation of the **New Party**. He took with him into the **New Party** six Labour M.P.'s, two of whom have already deserted. It is significant that **Mosley** himself is an extremely wealthy man, with a millionaire wife who is a daughter of the late **Lord Curzon**, and that his M.P. followers are entirely non-proletarian. The **New Party** is modelled on the Nazis; of that there can be no doubt, although its leaders are anxious to disclaim their fascist objective. In the forefront of their public utterances they place "a bold scheme of national reconstruction" by means of which they claim they can cure unemployment. This is the demagogic jam to make palatable the fascist pill.

Actually the main items of their programme are a national emergency government by a council of six, which, like **Sir William Morris's** industrial parliament, is to take all real power from the existing Chamber and operate on the lines of the **Fascist Directorate**; a form of tariffs which they disguise by the name of "insulation"; and "national discipline". They have intervened so far in one by-election. They obtained over 4,000 votes, in the main from disgruntled Labour elements.

Like the **Empire Crusaders** and the **Morris industrialists** they have ample funds and are carrying on an intensive campaign.

It will be seen that confusion reigns in the ranks of the capitalist parties, a confusion which is reflected in Parliament itself. Inside each of the Parties there are dissident groups. **Winston Churchill**, perhaps the best brain in the Conservative ranks, leads the semi-fascist elements in the Party and has resigned his position in the Conservative "Shadow Cabinet", urging a stronger "blood and iron" policy in India. Within the last few days **Sir John Simon** has publicly refused to receive the Whips of the Liberal Party any further. And in the Labour Party there are elements who realising the growing anger of the workers ask that some sop shall be thrown to appease their wrath.

Since the Government took office the number of unemployed has increased from just over 1 million to close upon 3 million. The trade returns continue to be worse each month and instead of pacification of the Colonies open revolt has broken out everywhere.

Snowden, the Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer, has called on all workers to make "sacrifices" to bring back prosperity. He has issued a warning that expenditure on unemployment and the social services must be reduced. In every basic industry wages either have been reduced or the losses are now preparing to reduce them, and in every case the reductions have been

directly assisted by special Commissions and Committees of Enquiry appointed by the Labour Government. When the workers have struggled against these reductions the Labour Government has not hesitated to use all the forces at its disposal, even the iniquitous Trade Union Act, on the side of the employers against the workers.

This Government, returned as a government of peace, has intensified the war preparations of previous governments and on every occasion has shown its unremitting enmity to the **Soviet Union**.

What then is the position of the working class movement in Britain faced with a situation such as this? Until the early part of this year there were no indications that those workers who had grown disillusioned with the Labour Party were prepared to turn in any considerable numbers to the **Communist Party**. But of late there are signs of a turn in the tide. The first indications came from the local Council elections held in **Wales** in **March**. Two months previously the miners in this part of Britain had struggled against wage cuts which were eventually imposed upon them by a combination of the employers, the trade union officials and the Labour Government working through an arbitration committee appointed under the Labour Government's **Coal Mines Act**. Only the **Miners' Minority Movement** and the **Communist Party** had led the struggle against reductions and worsened conditions and as a result of this revolutionary leadership in action considerable successes were gained at the **March** elections. A month later **County Council** elections were held in the same area and once again a startling advance was registered amounting to the **Communist** vote being more than doubled in many places and a number of seats being won.

Then there came the **Ogmore** parliamentary by-election where the **Communist** candidate, **J. R. Campbell**, who in 1929 polled little more than 1,000 votes, received over 5,000 votes. In other parts of Britain too, local election figures and elections to offices in the trade unions have shown that the workers are beginning to move towards the revolutionary policy and leadership of the **Communist Party**.

So far in Britain the **Communist Party** is a small body. Its mass work has been weak, but the activities of 1931 have shown that a vigorous application of the revolutionary line of independent leadership can win the workers. To-day the growing difficulties of British capitalism, both at home and in the colonies, coupled with the tremendous radicalisation of the masses which must of necessity be intensified by the application of the recommendations of the **Economy Committee**, which are to be issued shortly, and of the **Royal Commission on Unemployment**, which the Labour Government is already starting to put into operation, present an unprecedented opportunity for the growth of a mass **Communist Party** and a mass **Minority Movement**.

THE WHITE TERROR

Appeal against Extradition of N'Guyen Ai Quac and Serge Lefranc.

The International Secretariat of the **League against Imperialism and for National Independence** has issued an appeal against the proposed extradition of the **Indo-Chinese** communist leader **N'Guyen Ai Quac** who was arrested a little while ago by the British police in **Shanghai**, together with a **French** subject named **Serge Lefranc**. The **French** bourgeois press declares these two to be the chief organisers and leaders of the communist movement in **Indo-China** and demands their extradition.

The appeal of the **League against Imperialism** enumerates the many cases in which colonial revolutionaries have been extradited during the course of the past year, and expresses the fear that the British authorities will hand over the two to the **French** imperialist authorities in **Indo-China**. The **International Secretariat of the League against Imperialism** protests energetically against the danger of extradition and calls upon the workers of the world, and in particular the workers of **Great Britain** and its colonies, to protest against any such extradition.

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

The Iraq Treaty and the Struggle for Hegemony in the Near East.

By Bob (Jaffa).

The session of the Mandate Commission of the League of Nations which was to have decided on the British proposal to replace the mandate for Iraq by the Anglo-Iraq Treaty and to admit the Iraq "State" as a member of the League of Nations in 1932, has just concluded its deliberations in Geneva. It was not for nothing that the other imperialist States, above all, France and Italy, resisted the British proposal as long as possible. The imperialist rivals of Great Britain in the Near East know better than anyone else that the realisation of Great Britain's strategic plans there (one of the most important parts of these plans is the consolidation of the British position in Iraq) would consolidate British hegemony to such an extent that the other imperialist powers would be left far in the rear. These powers were unable to prevent the carrying out of the British plans, but they were determined that their agreement should be purchased with compensations, and this determination was at the back of the various diplomatic manoeuvres conducted in Geneva.

These manoeuvres cannot alter the established fact that during the last six months in particular, British plans in the Near East have made considerable progress, and that much that was in the preparatory and discussion stage for many years, has now entered on the stage of realisation, and in part is about to be realised. There is first of all the final appending of the signatures to the pipeline agreement which aims at pumping oil from northern Iraq (Mossul and Kirkuk districts) to the Mediterranean. The fact that this pipeline has now been bifurcated at a certain point in order to carry half the oil to the British port of Haifa and the other half to French Tripoli, only shows that the strategic value of this pipeline is immense, and that all economic and financial considerations have been subordinated to finding this solution of the vexed problem, in order to satisfy the Naval and Military authorities of both countries who all insisted on oil.

This pipeline is intended to guarantee the oil supplies for the imperialist naval bases in the Mediterranean and for the imperialist air forces in case of war. The petroleum companies which are constructing the line are being given every possible facility (to the disadvantage of the inhabitants of those districts through which the pipeline travels). All that the imperialist governments demand is that the line shall be completed as quickly as possible and that it shall be able to supply all the demands of the imperialist naval and military forces.

In the meantime, other important projects are not being neglected. The naval base being constructed in Haifa is now half completed according to the latest bulletin of the engineers. By ruthless speeding up methods and an intense exploitation of native labour power the authorities hope to have the harbour completed even before the time fixed. Similarly, the other end of the pipeline in French Tripoli is also being turned into a naval base. Military aerodromes are being built in the immediate neighbourhood. Great oil tanks are being erected and also a refinery in order to be able in case of war to refine the oil on the spot. These war preparations are being supplemented by the speeding up of the electrification projects and by the extension and improvement of the connecting roads of a strategical character in the spheres of influence of the two great imperialist powers.

The surveying work for the Haifa—Bagdad railway is practically completed and the ultimate route has been almost decided upon. The actual building work will probably begin in the Autumn of this year. Further plans are now being considered for a parallel line in the north, i. e. parallel to the Turkish and Soviet frontiers. There is good reason to believe that these plans will also be put into operation.

According to the calculations of the imperialist press these war preparations should be concluded in 1934/35 approximately, that is to say in about three years' time. By that time a further problem must be solved: the political stabilisation of Anglo-French hegemony. The practical work for the construction of the various strategical positions in the Near East is closely

accompanied and supported by the diplomatic manoeuvring of the British and French imperialists. Combinations of all sorts, intrigues, bribery, and corruption are still the chief instruments of imperialist diplomacy in the Levant. Behind the formulas, agreements and treaties which are the public expression of the silent battle behind the scenes are these instruments of imperialist diplomacy.

The leaders of the Arabian national movement willingly lend themselves to play the rôle appointed for them by the imperialists in the various political combinations. This can be seen in the way the feudal and bourgeois sections in Iraq have gone over to imperialism, in the way the nationalist leaders in Syria (including those who were considered "extreme" a little while ago) now support the monarchist swindle organised by French imperialism, in the way the so-called national opposition in Transjordan is fighting for a place at the table of imperialism, in the way Ibn Saud who likes to be called "the leader of the Arabian movement for independence", is being caught in the toils of the British diplomatic net (this is proved by the recent agreement with Iraq drawn up and signed under British pressure which represents, despite all the reservations, a further step to the complete capitulation of Ibn Saud).

The reason for this treacherous attitude of the native ruling classes is not only to be found in the advantages of a material nature offered them by French and British imperialism (the peoples of the Orient have learned from bitter experience how much value may be attached to imperialist promises), in fact, the chief reason for this attitude is the fear harboured by the native feudal and bourgeois sections of the spontaneous revolutionary mass movement. This fear makes it seem desirable for them to abandon the interests of the national-revolutionary movement and to conclude an alliance with the imperialists in order to save themselves from the revolutionary flood.

The rich landowners, the religious leaders, the trading bourgeoisie and the employers are well aware, as their press shows, of the real meaning of the Anglo-French preparations for war. They know that the decisive struggle between imperialism and socialism will also decide the fate of those oriental countries which lie on the way to India, and they prefer to throw in their lot with that of the British and French imperialists against the Soviet Union because the native masses, not only the workers, but also the peasants and the petty-bourgeois masses harbour growing sympathies for the Soviet Union, and themselves are being driven more and more into revolt by the pressure of the severe economic crisis.

A careful survey of the imperialist war preparations in the Near East shows that these preparations have become particularly intense during the last two years, or in other words, since the Labour government has taken over the reins in Great Britain. In the Near East Great Britain is as undeniably the leader of the anti-Soviet block, as imperialist France is in Europe. MacDonald and Henderson have laid the scene of their war preparations in Africa and Asia and this makes it easier for them to conceal these preparations. They hope even to be able to continue simultaneously their pacifist phrasemongering. However, the international proletariat must not let itself be deceived by these manoeuvres. Every new step in the imperialist war preparations in the Near East, and there have been many from the Iraq Treaty to the Mossul Agreement, must be carefully watched.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

International Miners Appeal.

The Secretariat of the International Miners Committee has issued an appeal to the miners of all countries calling on them to support the heroic struggles of the 40,000 miners in Pennsylvania and Kentucky who are fighting under the leadership of the revolutionary miners union against the combined forces of the mineowners, and their armed thugs, the capitalist State, the police and militia, and the reformist trade union leaders.

The appeal describes the course of the strike and the issues at stake and appeals to the miners of all countries to organise support, to organise solidarity demonstrations and to begin with collections for the support of the striking Appalachian miners.

FIRST OF AUGUST: INTERNATIONAL FIGHTING DAY AGAINST WAR.

The British Armament Concern.

By R. H.

The war industries of all imperialist countries are experiencing a boom period. The capitalist State Budgets allot increasingly high sums for new armaments and for the modernisation of old armaments. This fact alone shows that the world is in a period of political high tension.

British imperialism is the deadly enemy of the Soviet Union. Its differences with other imperialist powers do not diminish its enmity of the Soviet Union. The aggressive policy of British imperialism can be seen in its armaments system.

The section of the British metallurgical and engineering industries which works for war production, rifles, guns, warships, aeroplanes, tanks and munitions of war, is controlled by **Armstrong-Vickers**, and the organisation of this concern was the work of **Sir Basil Zaharoff**. Even prior to 1914 Zaharoff held a controlling interest in **Vickers Ltd.**, and ten other British armament-firms. The **Armstrong-Whitworth Company** was the only armament firm of importance which was not under his influence. During the world war, however, Zaharoff succeeded by a manoeuvre in swallowing **Armstrong-Whitworth** also. At his instance the British government and the Bank of England starved **Armstrong-Whitworth** financially and compelled the firm to amalgamate with **Vickers**. The **Armstrong-Vickers** concern was the result. This concern represented an enormous concentration of armament capital.

The relations between **Armstrong-Vickers** and the British government are naturally very close. As in all other capitalist countries, so also in Great Britain, it is a normal phenomenon that high government officials should change their sphere of activities from the work of government to the offices of the armament concerns. These officials maintain their connections with the government and influence their successors directly or indirectly with promises of equally well-paid positions in the armament industry in their turn. For instance, the former Director of naval construction and technical adviser to the Admiralty, **Sir Tennyson d'Eyncourt**, is now one of the Directors of **Armstrong-Vickers**. **Lord Southborough**, who is also one of the Directors of **Armstrong-Vickers**, was Civil Lord of the Admiralty from 1912 to 1917. **General Littleton**, whose brother is also one of the Directors of the **Armstrong-Vickers** concern, was the Chief of the British Army Council. The two secretaries of the Committee for Imperial Defence, the highest military strategic organ of British imperialism, **Lord Sydenham** and **Admiral Ottley**, are both Directors of the **Armstrong-Vickers** concern. This list could be lengthened indefinitely. The above names are, however, sufficient to show the close connections which exist between the British government and the British armament concern. It is hardly necessary to mention that for the most part the shares of **Armstrong-Vickers** are held by Dukes, Lords, Viscounts, Knights, Baronets, politicians, and high naval and military officers.

The armaments industries are closely interwoven on an international scale. The **Armstrong-Vickers** concern has close relations with the **Bethlehem Steel Corporation**, with **Schneider-Creuzot**, with **Krupp** and with the **Italian** armament industry. It is very interesting to note that **Armstrong-Vickers** subscribed half the share capital for the armoured plate factory of **Mutoran** in **Japan**. Equally interesting is the fact that **Vickers Aeroplanes Ltd.** (London) has works in **Canada**, big interests in the **Dutch Vliegvetuigenfabrik Fokker** in **Amsterdam**, and interests in the **Junkers works** in **Dessau (Germany)**.

Prior to the world war the relations between the armament industries of Great Britain and Germany were very close. Patents were exchanged, **Krupp** steel was sent to Great Britain, etc. The world war put an end to this close co-operation, but after the war both sides began to take up the threads again. The **Krupp** firm claimed compensation from the **Armstrong-Vickers** concern for having handed over its rights in a particularly effective fusecap which was used by the British artillery during the war. Through the mediation of the German Foreign Office, **Krupp** took proceedings against **Armstrong-Vickers** to recover one shilling for each fusecap. The total claim amounts to 123 million shillings. This demand actually figures on the debit side of **Arm-**

strong-Vickers' balance sheet. In all probability, however, this sum will never be paid directly and some sort of compromise will be arrived at. It has been suggested that **Krupp** shall receive an interest in a Spanish steel concern which is under the control of **Armstrong-Vickers**.

Armstrong-Vickers produce or control the production of big guns, rifles, small arms of all sorts, tanks, warships and aeroplanes. The mechanisation and the motorisation of the British Army represent a tremendous source of profit for the British armament industry. The small professional army of Great Britain is ideally equipped, from the point of view of the armament capitalists. Nevertheless, the British Army has fewer tanks and fewer aeroplanes than the French Army. In 1931 the French government admitted to possessing 3,700 tanks, whilst in the same year the British authorities admitted to 800 only. Much the same proportion exists with regard to aeroplanes; France has 3,850 planes whilst Great Britain has only 1,550. However, this does not mean that the British armament industry is behind the French armament industry in its development. The exact opposite is the truth. In Great Britain the most up-to-date weapons of warfare have already been prepared for serial mass production. In case of war the British armament industry would be in a position to produce huge quantities of war material in a very short space of time. The models and plans have been worked out to the last and most minute detail. All that is necessary is that work should begin and the most modern weapons of warfare can then be produced on a mass scale.

The **Armstrong-Vickers** concern supplies other countries besides the British Empire. It is, in fact, the largest armaments contractor in the world. During recent years the British exports of war materials have steadily increased.

In 1923 Great Britain exported war materials to the value of 3,240,800 pounds sterling. In 1924 the figure was 2,996,000 pounds sterling. In 1925 the figure was 3,488,200 pounds sterling, and in 1926 and 1927 3,052,700 pounds sterling and 3,737,523 pounds sterling respectively.

The quantities and kinds of war materials exported are shown in the following list:

- 140 military planes,
- 386 aeroplane engines,
- 24 heavy guns,
- 2,085 machine-guns,
- 28,066 field service rifles,
- 20,000 heavy shells,
- 42,759 shell cases,
- 44 million rounds of rifle ammunition.

Armstrong-Vickers supplies chiefly the **South American States**, **Greece**, **Japan** (remember the close connection with the **Mutoran** firm) and last but not least, the various warring generals in **China**. **Armstrong-Vickers** has flung a network of armament agents around the world. The headquarters of this production of artillery, tanks, warships, etc., are in **Sheffield** and **Downing Street**.

Apart from aeroplane construction, Great Britain is very active in the building of submarines. British armament firms have big shipbuilding yards not only in Great Britain itself, but also abroad. For instance, **Armstrong-Vickers** has a controlling interest in the submarine building yards in **Portugal**. **Germany** is also interested in these yards. The naval defences of **Spain** are also the work of **Armstrong-Vickers**.

Armstrong-Vickers is the most active and unscrupulous armament contractors in the world. It seeks continually for new markets on which to dispose of its wares. It never ceases in its work to bring about that of affairs in which, "money is of no account", in other words, war. The agents of the **Armstrong-Vickers** concern are worthy allies of Deterding and his accomplices. They represent a permanent and dangerous threat to the international proletariat in general and to the Soviet Union in particular.

The British Labour government is well aware of the practices of the **Armstrong-Vickers** concern, but it has neither the desire nor the power to make any change in the traditional methods. Before the war it was a generally known fact (admitted, for instance, by the "**Economist**") that the British Foreign Office was the agent of the British armament concerns and secured large orders for the British war industries. The connections between the British armament industry and the British government are as close and permanent as they were before the world war, and the same co-operation exists to-day as existed then.

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The "Victory" of the Berlin International in Indonesia.

By MUSSO.

"In regard to colonial plunder its policy is that of the direct suppression of the national revolutionary movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, a policy that means tens of thousands of prisoners and mass shootings in India, the destruction of villages from aeroplanes; direct support for the executioners government of Chiang Kai-shek and for the open war which foreign warships are conducting on the Yangtse against the Red Army in the South of China; the mass executions in Indo-China."

(Theses of the XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I.)

Nowadays also in Indonesia social democracy is the main social pillar of the Dutch bourgeoisie in the plundering of the million working and peasant masses. Moreover during the crisis time it becomes already openly the integral part of the exploiting class. Nowhere the Social Democratic Party is as cunning as the social fascist party of Holland in the field of the corruption of the colonial movements. In its colonial congress which was held at the beginning of 1930 it openly and shamelessly decided that Indonesia must and can not be liberated directly from Holland, because, as they said, the direct seperation of the colony from the mother country will mean nothing else than destruction for the Indonesian peoples who were far not yet ripe to manage their country. This bourgeois theory most of all was hotly defended by the colonial specialist **Stokvis**. The so-called Lefts were not lagging behind in serving the bourgeoisie and in that congress proposed that the Indonesian movements at all cost must be prevented to fall under the influence of Moscow.

A year has elapsed since that notorious event. Many attempts had been made by the Dutch bourgeoisie and also by the social democracy to create connections between the existing political and labour movements in Indonesia and the reformist organisations in Holland. In this field **August Salim**, the vice-president of the reactionary **Sarekat-Islam**, also known as the Gapon of Indonesia, had played a very important rôle. Acting as the colonial adviser of the Dutch workers' delegation to the Geneva conferences, openly he received travelling expenses from the Indonesian government. In Holland Salim had carried out his broker's rôle brilliantly.

The year 1930 was a hard year for Salim and the social Democrats, but their hardships were crowned with good results. **Danz, Kupers** and **Moltmaker**, representatives of the N.V.V. (Dutch Trade Union Federation), arrived on May 1931 at **Batavia**, the capital of Indonesia. All bourgeois papers devoted columns to express their gladness and to praise the "Socialist Workers' Delegation". Cordially they were accepted by the highest officials of the Indonesian Dutch Government. Even the Governor General had invited them. In a grandiose banquet **Kupers** stated that the delegation had no political purposes at all.

The non-political character of the "Workers' delegation" soon was expressed in the congress of the federation of the unions of the native government officials and employees, which was held at **Solo** after the arrival of the Trio. The congress which represented 32,000 members unanimously adopted the proposal of the socialist delegates to affiliate the federation to the Berlin International (the former Amsterdam International).

As everybody knows that Federation of the native employees is under the leadership of **Suryopranoto**, also one of the big leaders of the **Sarekat-Islam**, thus a good comrade of Salim. This native Federation was established by Suryo with the full help of the government representatives, thus it is nothing else than a fascist organisation to help the Dutch to prevent revolutionary influences. Suryo also stated frankly by the establishment of that Federation that only organisations of the government employees are allowed to be members, and unions of workers of private undertakings are sternly forbidden to join that organisation.

In practice those unions have no meaning at all and the

employees are joining those movements, because those organisations are semi-state organisations. Thus the joining of those unions means for the employees more or less protection; all the more during the present acute regime of economy, to be member of those unions is an assurance. This is the only benefit that the employees enjoy from their organisations. At present the salaries of the government employees were cut by 15 a 20 per cent.; the unions and also the Federation, have done nothing except their so-called "protest meetings" against wage cuts, where the leaders passed resolutions to agree to the step taken by the government, because, as they stated, the crisis affects not only the employees but also the government, therefore a good government servant's main duty during this difficult time is to help the state to fight the crisis. Besides, it is better to have a smaller wage than to be discharged.

Those are the slogans at the present time of the Federation which is newly affiliated to the Berlin (former Amsterdam) International.

That the affiliation of the native Federation to the Berlin International was greatly appreciated by the bourgeoisie and also by the social democracy is obvious.

"This affiliation of the native trade unions to the Berlin International is really a great moral success gained by the delegation of the N.V.V. This at the same time is also a great step forward for the movements of the Indonesian masses."

This is said by "**Het Volk**", the official organ of the Social Democratic Party of Holland. The Bourgeois paper "**New Rotterdam Courant**", however, which is always thinking about the Moscow danger in Indonesia, could hardly believe that reformism could attract at once 32,000 coloured workers, and in its issue of June 4th. 1931 it makes the following exclamation:

"It we ask ourselves what benefit the Indonesian trade unions get to be affiliated to the Berlin International, then gladly we can say, that they are now freed from the grip of Moscow."

Those are the victories of the Reformist International which are also called by the bourgeoisie the defeats of Moscow. Reformism to-day is in the colonial countries reared by the bourgeoisie, because this showed during the recent time to be the best weapon to fight communism. In order to extend the influences of social democracy in Indonesia the Dutch have sacrificed everything. The social democrats get the highest positions in the colony, money was not counted if it was on behalf of the social democracy. On the other hand to prevent the penetration of Communism, all drastic steps have been taken and various laws have been promulgated. Also the passport system has been introduced specially to fight the Communist propaganda in the villages, and in the "outer territories" (other islands except **Java** and **Madura**).

The present crisis makes the international bourgeoisie to be more active to act against Communism. Recently the bloc between the governors of the **Philippine Islands**, **Indo-China**, **British Malaya** and **Java** was strengthened, and those countries are to-day exactly copying the method of work of the Dutch in doing away with the agents of Moscow. In the P.I. hundreds of workers were recently arrested, the guillotines are very active in Indo-China, deportation to China is the order of the day of the MacDonal Government in Singapore. The Dutch are not only helping Chiang Kai-shek in the beheading of the Chinese Communists who were active in Indonesia to arrest and to deport them to China but they are daily also banishing the Indonesian Communists to the malaria place **Boven Digul** amidst the jungle of New Guinea.

But fortunately the colonial proletariat encouraged by the tremendous successes of the socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. on the one hand and by the victories of the Chinese Red Army on the other do not shrink an inch to face the combined forces of the imperialist powers, and even in Indonesia there took place the revival of the Communist activities regardless of the brutal terror. It can be expected soon that also Indonesia can be counted as a link in the revolutionary upsurge in the East.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Are the Decisions of the E.C.C.I. Plenum to Remain Only on Paper?

By O. W. Kuisinen.

We, Communists, are all very fond of talking about the development of the Comintern into a strong international of common action, into a real Bolshevik world Party. But when it comes to the Communist Parties making the decisions of an important Comintern session, such as those of the recent Plenum of the E.C.C.I., their very own, and putting them into practice, most of the C.I. Sections still display a great lack of genuine, live internationalism.

The Congresses of the Second International can only make decisions with the purpose of letting them remain on paper. Our Congresses and Plenums make decisions of a different kind, and with another object. These decisions are intended to serve as directives for the revolutionary practice of the proletarian class struggle. Therefore, merely a formal acceptance and publication of these decisions through our Sections is absolutely inadmissible, and goes against their whole spirit and essence.

And yet it is unfortunately a fact that the decisions of the XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. have been up till now, over two months after the Plenum, only formally adopted by most of the C.I. Sections, without leading to further measures.

This is naturally not a question of international Party discipline in the mechanical sense of the term. Only the enemies of Communism represent the internal discipline of the Comintern as blind super-centralism, according to which the Moscow Executive of the Comintern dictates everything that the Communists of the various countries have to do or leave undone. This is a mendacious caricature of Comintern discipline. By international development of our Sections we mean something quite different as shown by the following:

An international session of the Comintern, such as the recent Plenum of the E.C.C.I., performs important political work. The members of the Executive Committee, elected by the World Congress, and in addition, a considerable number of other representatives of other Sections from many countries, come together, in order to study once more collectively in the course of a fortnight, the old fighting experiences, analyse the economic and political situation and lay down the immediate main tasks of the Comintern. The result of this collective work, laid down in carefully considered resolutions and theses of the Plenum, constitutes a result of great political importance for the Communist movement of the world. But this result can be lost to a great extent, if the Sections of the individual countries do not know how to utilise it.

What does this utilisation mean?

An international session makes chiefly only central decisions, appropriate to all the important countries, it gives the characteristics of the international situation and lays down in its directives the central course of the Communist Parties for the immediate future. This is precisely its task. It cannot analyse in detail the conditions of all the individual countries, and still less work out whole concrete directives for the individual countries and situations which are rapidly changing. This should be the work of the individual Sections, which they are to carry out on the basis of the decisions of the international session.

But it is precisely regarding this point that we encounter one of the most characteristic defects in the work of our Sections, to the removal of which the Executive of the Comintern has paid considerable attention lately, and will have to continue to do so. The XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I., also called special attention to it by giving prominence among the serious weaknesses and defects noticeable in the work of most Sections and indicating as "special danger in the conditions of the present, higher stage of the class struggle" also to the following defect.

"A mechanical application of general directives without their concretisation, with regard to the respective country and the respective and concrete case of the class struggle."

But there seems to be now the danger of the general directives given by the XI. E.C.C.I. Plenum being also mechanically carried out by many Comintern Sections. The C.P. of Germany alone went immediately and seriously to work regarding the concretisation of the decisions of the XI. Plenum in accordance with conditions in Germany. On the other hand, for instance, the C.P.s of France, Great Britain, U.S.A. and many other Sections of the Comintern have hitherto, if we are correctly informed, treated these decisions rather formally, have so to speak, "taken cognisance of them", which means that for the time being, the substance of the Plenum decisions has been the subject of a couple of short newspaper articles, and that otherwise the questions have been put off till the Plenum of the C.C.; then at the Plenum of the C.C., a report on the E.C.C.I. Plenum was listened to, and after an inadequate discussion an equally inadequate resolution was adopted, in order to "proceed after that with the agenda".

However, it is just possible that one or other of these parties has after all done a little more, in order to make the results of the E.C.C.I. Plenum its own, but if so, we are not aware of it. Anyhow, one thing is certain, that most of the C.I. Sections have not yet done justice to the most important tasks arising for them out of the E.C.C.I. Plenum, namely, 1) concretisation of these decisions in accordance with the special conditions in their respective countries; and 2) drawing the whole membership of the Party into the discussion and concrete elaboration of the E.C.C.I. decisions.

The first of these tasks demands a thorough re-examination of and a reply to a whole series of very important pressing questions by every one of the Communist Parties, on the basis of the new general resolutions of the E.C.C.I.

The XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. has above all called attention to the development of the crisis of the capitalist system, to the accentuation of the class struggle, to the development of the revolutionary upsurge, and to the fact that most of the C.I. Sections lag behind the radicalisation of the masses. What are the concrete forms which these phenomena take in the given individual country? This must be clearly indicated. The XI. Plenum has given special emphasis to the fact that the growth of the revolutionary upsurge is developing unevenly, "in accord with the degree and tempo of the development of the crisis and of the accentuation of the internal and external contradictions of capitalism in the given country". In countries such as Germany, Poland, Spain, the Plenum has established an upward development of the premises of the revolutionary crisis. But what about France, Britain, or America, etc. in this respect? What is the tempo and degree of the development of the crisis and of the accentuation of the internal and external contradictions of capitalism in these countries? The Executive of the respective Communist Party should have clearly worked out this immediately after the E.C.C.I. Plenum, beginning hereby a real popularisation of the E.C.C.I. decisions in the ranks of the Party.

The XI. Plenum gave a general characteristic, but not separately for every country, of the ruthless capitalist offensive against the standard of living of the workers (mass dismissals and unemployment, wage-cuts, higher taxes, artificially maintained high retail prices, reduction of social insurance, etc.) and recorded at the same time the growing discontent of the wide masses, a further sharpening of the strike and unemployed movements, the growth of the opposition of the petty-bourgeois urban masses, etc.—"What form does this take in our country?" Every Communist Party should have asked itself this question. Why? Above all for this reason: Because the E.C.C.I. Plenum had to establish the fact that there were serious weaknesses and defects in most of the C.I. Sections, which took the following form:

"A policy of Kvostism with regard to a series of great revolutionary movements, unemployed demonstrations, strikes and peasant movements. Lagging behind with regard to the mobilisation of the masses for the defence of the daily needs of the workers, inadequate linking up of the struggle for these demands with the struggle for proletarian dictatorship.

"In how far does this weakness exist in our Section?" This is what every Communist Party should have asked itself. It should also seriously consider the measures to be taken, in order to completely remedy this weakness. The popularisation of the

decisions of the E.C.C.I. at the Plenum should have been utilised precisely for the purpose of mobilising all Party organisations and members for the struggle against our chief weaknesses, and final victory over them. In which domains above all?

In the struggle against mass unemployment which has assumed enormous proportions in most capitalist countries, and is bound to grow still more. The majority of the C.I. Sections have not yet displayed much activity in regard to the organisation of the unemployed movement which has rather developed quite spontaneously. One of the first conclusions which every individual Communist Party should draw from the political resolution of the E.C.C.I. Plenum is, that it must work out immediately concrete measures capable of strengthening its work in this domain.

Matters are no better but rather worse in regard to the strike movements (with only a few exceptions). As a rule we do not yet know what practical preparation of a strike movement means, we are unable to give a correct lead to the struggle for the independent leadership of the strike, with the utilisation of the tactic of the united front from below, neither do we know how to prepare the mass of the strikers for the almost inevitable eventuality that the reformists will strike by their manoeuvres. It is however high time for the Communists to learn what a correct revolutionary strike tactic means. In enterprises where Communists have only a few followers and yet advocate a strike without making the least effort to draw the followers of the reformists into it, they can even spoil the best opportunities of the movement. This is by no means a rare occurrence, for instance, in France where the fighting spirit of the masses is on the increase, but the confidence of the masses that the Communists know how to lead the struggle correctly is frequently undermined through the mistakes of our Comrades.

This is mainly a question of our Comrades in the various countries having to learn how to apply in the preparation of mass demonstrations, forms of the united front from below capable of drawing into these demonstrations broad masses of men and women workers, the unemployed, as well as office workers and other semi-proletarian strata.

According to the XI. E.C.C.I. Plenum,

"this demands, apart from a careful consideration of the general situation, a careful consideration of the situation and correlation of forces in the various branches of production, as well as in every enterprise, a careful consideration of all the peculiarities of the position of the various strata of the working class, and also the application of suitable concrete fighting methods: economic strike, short protest strike, revolutionary demonstration, political mass strike. This demands an energetic struggle against the Right danger, against any form of opportunism, against a Kvoistist policy, passivity and secretarianism."

In regard to the organisational reinforcement of the Red Trade Unions and revolutionary opposition in the reformist trade unions, we are considerably behind the existing possibilities in all the capitalist countries, especially in the United States and Britain, but also in Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc. And yet, for the organisation of a broad and strong counter-attack of the proletariat against the Capitalist offensive, a strong, organised mass basis in the form of the revolutionary trade union movement is an essential prerequisite.—"What measures, new, important measures must be taken immediately in our country in this domain?", this is one of the concrete questions which should be considered in every Party in connection with the E.C.C.I. decisions. "What are the best means of getting into the reformist trade unions? Is it not above all by strengthening our work in the factories? But how can we really strengthen this work? Is it not, for instance, expedient to use unemployed workers who are in sympathy with us for the strengthening of this work? How are we to make them fit for this purpose?" etc., etc.

With regard to the struggle against fascism and against the bourgeois dictatorship in all its forms: The XI. Plenum criticised the mistakes made in this domain, and made it incumbent on the individual sections to develop better their fighting methods against the concrete forms of the bourgeois dictatorship and fascist movement which exist in every country. Has this already

been done? Only in a very few countries I think. Neither were the directives of the Plenum for the toiling peasant masses as allies of the proletariat in the struggle against bourgeois dictatorship meant to remain on paper. The Communist Party of Germany has shown in its programme of aid to the farmers an example of how concretely to apply the directives of the E.C.C.I.!

With regard to the struggle against imperialist wars and the war of intervention against the Soviet Union: The XI. Plenum emphasised the inadequate work of the Communist Parties in regard to the struggle against the direct danger of a war of intervention, and placed all the C.I. Sections under the obligation to carry on "an energetic struggle for the defence of the S.U., against imperialist wars and for peace, exposing at the same time the infamous pacifist manoeuvres of the II. Social Fascist International, the most active instigator and organiser of the counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union." It is also essential to expose the manoeuvres which some of the imperialist governments, and ectely also the French government, are compelled to undertake. Simultaneously, the Plenum urged all the sections to struggle against intervention in the Soviet districts of China and also to give an impetus to anti-militarist activity and to the struggle for the winning over of the working youth.

By means of facts, the XI. Plenum fully demonstrated the counter-revolutionary rôle of the international social democracy, as the main social prop of the bourgeoisie in its struggle against the proletariat, and the political education therefrom was formulated by the Plenum thus:

"Therefore the exposure of social democracy and the II. International, the release of the toiling masses from the influence of social democracy, the isolation and defeat of social democracy are the immediate and most urgent tasks of the Communist Parties without the solution of which a successful struggle of the proletariat for its liberation from the capitalist yoke is impossible."

If this does not place every C.I. Section under the obligation to examine once more and to develop further the methods of its struggle against social democracy, then the convocation of international sessions of the Executive Committee of the Comintern is utterly useless.

The E.C.C.I. Plenum itself has already given in its political resolution a series of directives as to how the struggle against the social democratic reformist leaders is to be conducted during the preparation and development of all revolutionary activities. But the Plenum has naturally left it to the individual sections to work out the concrete forms, methods and slogans of the struggle in accordance with the local conditions in the respective countries. In Britain, for instance, the Executive of the Labour Party deceives large masses of workers with the "argument" that the MacDonald government has not a free hand to carry on a radical Labour policy, because it is still a minority government, but that it is certainly better than a conservative government . . . This is a British variety of the swindle indulged in by the German Police-Socialists who try to make it out to the German workers that the Brüning government is the "lesser evil". This must be exposed in England in true English fashion. In another country again in a different manner.

The E.C.C.I. Plenum said:

"On the basis of a concrete platform of every-day demands, and by means of methods intelligible to the masses, the C.I. Sections must expose every treacherous act of the social democrats. Wherever Communists do not develop an adequate activity in the struggle against the Right danger within the parties, apply mechanically the correct 'class against class' tactic without considering the stage of development of the Communist movement, wherever they do not apply it concretely, in accord with the special conditions of their country, and identify without reservation social fascism with fascism, the social fascist leaders with the ordinary social democratic workers, they weaken hereby their own independent leadership of the class struggle and the offensive character of their struggle against the social democrats, and allow the latter to carry out their sham manoeuvres against fascism, and to deceive the masses who are following them."

Thus, the decisions of the E.C.C.I. Plenum were certainly not intended to be looked upon as a finished work of art which one hangs up and admires. On the contrary, through these decisions a whole series of tasks were imposed on the individual C.I. Sections with a view to **their further elaboration and concretisation**. This is the **most important part of the work** which remained to be done by the Sections, and which has not yet been done. **But this work must be done**. The Political Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. thinks that the Sections must be emphatically reminded of this duty.

This is not a matter only for the Party executive. **The whole Party**, all its organisations and members are to be drawn into the discussion and elaboration of the decisions of the E.C.C.I. Plenum. Every Party organ and every nucleus is to participate in the examination and concretisation of these tasks. There must be healthy comradesly self-criticism regarding Party work with the object of improving it.

Without such broad collective working out of the questions in the Party, the result which the Plenum of the E.C.C.I. set itself, cannot be attained. It goes without saying that the leading Party organs must **guide**, organise and control this collective consideration of the questions, distribute the necessary material which is to serve as a basis for the discussion, issue political instructions, in order to help the lower organisations to deal with the questions correctly, etc. Nothing sensible can be achieved if things are left to look after themselves.

If part of what I have mentioned here has already been carried out by this or that Section, all the better. But what has been left undone must be done immediately. Comrades, see to this everywhere with true Bolshevik energy! The result of the XI. Plenum must not be allowed to go past our Parties without leaving a deeper impression.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The New Social Life in the U. S. S. R.

By S. Smidovich (Moscow).

The improvement and change which have taken place in the social life of the workers, follow new socialist lines, and are closely connected with the entire socialist construction which is proceeding in our country at a hitherto unknown rate throughout the world under the leadership of the Party and the Soviet Government, and with the active participation of millions strong masses of workers.

The colossal growth of our socialist sector — the sector of the socialist big and heavy industry —, the collectivisation of millions of peasant farms and the liquidation of kulakdom as a class on the basis of compact collectivisation, are radically altering the whole life of our country, and are re-constructing the social life of the working class and peasant family on a new basis.

To give a general idea of the colossal growth of our social industry and agriculture, we will take a few figures. Already in 1929—30 the volume of the yearly production of the factories and works in the U. S. S. R. showed a more than twofold increase compared with the pre-war production. In 1931, the yearly output will show already a threefold increase compared with the pre-war output. In connection with this rapid growth of industry, not only has unemployment disappeared and the numerical strength of the working class been raised from 2,400,000 to 6,359,000, but we even experience a great shortage of labour power.

Now when the colossal growth of the socialist sector of our industry which has in its hands all the levers of the national economy, entitles us to assert that we have already entered the period of socialism, we are drawing into the national economy in this, the third, decisive year of the Five Year Plan up to 1,600,000 women. In view of the enormous growth of the whole socialist economy, the inclusion of such a number of women is of colossal significance for the radical reorganisation of the social life of the working class and peasant family on socialist lines.

In connection with this very important fact, our class enemies and some bourgeois savants and writers indulge in infamous lies and slanders regarding women's emancipation in the Soviet Union, alleging that forced labour is applied here. They pretend to believe in the Soviets' determination to put an end to family life, and that the 1,600,000 women who are being drawn into the process of production will become slaves of the Soviet Five Year Plan. There is here clearly some misunderstanding. The Ministry of Labour of bourgeois Great Britain has issued an order that highly skilled women workers, thrown out of work thanks to the bourgeoisie, be compelled to accept employment as domestic helps, otherwise they are deprived of unemployment benefit. This is a characteristic example of compulsory labour against which even the female social-democratic masses are protesting.

Working women in the Soviet Union can authoritatively state that to their great delight the Soviet Government, from the very first days of the October Revolution, freed them from all the coercive laws which degrade and enslave women, from slave labour for the benefit of capitalists, and does everything for their final emancipation from household drudgery. Comrade Lenin says:

We have left no stone unturned — in the true sense of this term — with regard to the infamous laws which establish sex inequality: the divorce law with its concomitant disgusting formalities, the illegitimacy of children born out of wedlock, the hunt for their fathers etc., laws relics of which are to be found in all the civilised countries, be it said to the everlasting shame of the bourgeoisie and capitalism. We have every right to be proud of what we have done in this domain.

Here, in the U. S. S. R. the Soviet power has done for women's emancipation more, to quote comrade Lenin, than has been done in 130 years by the advanced, enlightened democratic republics throughout the world taken together. The main thing with regard to women's emancipation, is the abolition of private ownership of land, factories and works. This opens the way to the complete and real emancipation of women, to their emancipation from household drudgery, by going over from individual households on a small scale to socialised households on a large scale. The socialist construction which is going on now in our country, and the participation of millions of women in it, place women's emancipation on a sound basis. Never, and in no country in the world, have working women been as free as in the Soviet Union.

In bourgeois countries only bourgeois women can exercise their rights, to vote and to be elected to the legislative organ, because working women are either deprived of these rights, or cannot exercise them owing to the social conditions. They are enslaved not only by the state and capitalism, but also by the hard family conditions.

With us, on the other hand, hundreds of thousands of women are drawn into the administrative organs of the country, and into all sorts of social organisations. The proletarian state guarantees them the possibility of doing justice to their civic and social functions. In most factories and works women's working participation in the recent Soviet Election Campaigns amounted to 100 per cent. One quarter of the Soviet Deputies are women. In many provinces and republics working women are in the supreme organs of the Soviet Power. The 6th Congress of the U. S. S. R. Soviets was attended by 321 women delegates, which constitutes over 20 % of the total number of delegates. Many women delegates, Soviet deputies, work in perfect equality with men in any Soviet, Party and Trade Union organ. This is no longer unusual, and only attracts the attention of foreign visitors.

Now, when thousands of unemployed women are thrown into the streets in the capitalists countries, together with their starving children, working women in our country are drawn in their thousands, together with the men, into the process of production, are made participants in the carrying through of the great plan of socialist construction. It is now that we witness the complete fulfilment of Lenin's words: The work of the Soviet Power will be completed when millions and millions of working women will participate in it.

• We can record enormous successes with regard to women's

inclusion into the process of production. The recruitment of girls for the factory apprenticeship schools which prepare cadres of highly skilled workers for the various branches of industry and agriculture, amounts already to almost $\frac{1}{2}$ of the total number of scholars. Adult women workers are drawn into the brigades for acquiring technical skill, which is now one of our main tasks. It is high time to pay more attention to technique, says comrade Stalin. The Bolsheviks must master technique. It is high time for them to become experts themselves. In the reconstruction period technique is the decisive factor. Women workers are drawn into the carrying through of this central task in the given period.

Thousands of women are also raising their qualification by attending various courses and circles. There is also already a considerable number of women workers in the factories and works employed in the capacity of engineers. Their number will grow from year to year, for our higher technical institutions have among their students a considerable number of working women.

Women workers do not lag behind their class-conscious male fellow workers with regard to the labour enthusiasm with which they carry through the industrial and financial plan of their enterprise. They struggle for greater productivity of labour, and against everything that interferes with the work of socialist construction. They look upon labour from the new, the socialist point of view, they raise it to the highest level by participating in socialist competition and in the shock brigades together with the whole working class. More than half of the women workers belonging to the metal, textile, chemical etc. workers unions participate in the socialist competition.

In answer to the attack of the class enemy, the women workers of our Soviet country organise more and more shock brigades, undertake more arduous tasks, join the ranks of the C.P.S.U. Hardly any special workers' meeting passes without scores of women shock brigade members receiving premiums for the largest output, with new scores of women workers joining the ranks of the C.P.S.U. In the „Sickle and Hammer“ factory in Moscow 2000 women shock brigade members have received premiums for exemplary work. In our glorious Red „Irekhgora“ (cotton mills) the women workers, by their labour enthusiasm, have guaranteed that the industrial and financial plan will not only be carried out but exceeded. They brought forward at the production conference valuable proposals which mean a saving of 500 000 rbls every month.

Some of the older women workers who have already been pensioned off, ask to be allowed to work again at the bench, so as to devote the rest of their strength to the work of socialist construction.

Working men's and housewives are also very active, they do what they can to increase production, and carry on social work: They organise children's and other social institutions. In the Tagil Works, 200 working men's wives organised themselves into shock brigades for the iron and coal campaign. In answer to the sabotage in the food industry, the wives of the workers in the Bakal Mines organised a brigade which managed to increase the output of coal in a short time to such an extent that the industrial and financial plan was carried out to the full, and on the Dnieprostroi the women shock brigades did the concrete-laying at such a rapid rate that they outdid all the men's brigades.

It is the socialist attitude to labour which gives a new and special imprint to the social life of the workers in the U.S.S.R. Labour, from being a discreditable and heavy burden, as it was considered in the past, says Comrade Stalin, the General Secretary of our Party, is becoming an honourable, glorious and heroic achievement. Over two million workers have taken up this new attitude to labour which radically changes the whole aspect of the socialist factories and works, the aspect of the men and women workers themselves and their customs and habits, transforming them into new beings — the creators of socialism.

Only the masters of the country who work for their own ends and not for capitalist exploiters, can live and work thus. Socialism does not and cannot exist under capitalism. Our construction goes on at an unprecedented rate. Three and a half months before the fixed date, the Stalingrad Tractor Works was completed. On the Turkestan-Siberian Railway, the shock

brigaders exceeded American rates of railroad construction, and the Turksib was constructed before the fixed date.

We witness important psychological changes not only among the workers in connection with the growth of our socialist industry. There is also considerable labour enthusiasm in our socialist agriculture among the peasants — men and women alike — in the Soviet and collective farms. At a meeting in the soviet farm „Gigant“, 200 farm labourer's wives declared:

„We do not want to lag behind our husbands, we want to participate in the socialist construction and put up a fight for the soviet farm five year plan. We ask to be included into the process of production.“

Now, when the decision of the Party and Government re collectivisation in 1931 is already carried out, when by the 10th of May 50,4 % poor and middle peasant farms where already collectivised throughout the Soviet Union, and compact collectivisation has taken place in North Caucasus, part of the Ukraina, and on the middle and lower Volga, one can say that a great victory has been won at the front of the construction of the new social life and the new man — the builder of socialism.

A decisive change has taken place among the peasant masses. The peasants are veering round towards socialism. From being small owners they are becoming members of collective farms. This is what Comrade Molotov, the Chairman of the Council of Peoples Commissars, says on this subject: Although getting rid of age long traditions and habits of small landownership is a slow process, our peasants who are now members of collective farms are not what they were before. Out of these members of collective farms a new socialist type is being created, and they will never go back to the former, miserable petty-bourgeois life; they are eager for socialism.

The collective farm movement in the U.S.S.R. is a real mass movement, which is developing at an ever increasing rate. The mass of the poor and middle peasants have realised the advantages of collective farming. Tens of millions of peasants have joined the collective farms. This gives the lie to all the legends of our class enemies about compulsory collectivisation in the U.S.S.R. and to all the silly talk on this subject. Socialism cannot be built up by compulsion. This is such a simple truth that one need not be particularly clever to understand it.

It is only on a collective farm that peasant women can truly profit by all the great gains of the October Revolution, and become men's equals in every respect. This is what one of them said at the congress of women members of collective farms:

„There was much ridicule, on the part of the kulaks, but this did not prevent us building our new life. When we made a start by organising eight farms for joint tilling of the land, they laughed at us and said that nothing would come out of our effort, but when good ploughing and manuring resulted in an excellent harvest, the whole district was full of it. Sixteen more farms organised themselves on a collective basis in 1929, and in 1930 our collective farm „Noviye Vshodi“ (New Shoots) had already 200 farms.“

„I was as poor as poor can be when I joined the collective farm, and now I am shoed and clothed, we live and work harmoniously, and do not listen to the kulaks and their friends“, said another woman member of the collective farm.

During the grain storing campaign the women of the collective and even of the individual farms organise women's red trains of waggons with hundreds and hundreds of thousands of hundredweights of grain for the State.

The women in the collective farms participate in all the agricultural campaigns, and in all the branches of the agricultural industry. They are drawn into poultry and stock raising, vegetable growing and into the spring sowing and autumn harvesting campaign. The labour of the collectivised peasant women has become an indispensable part of the whole agricultural industry. Collective labour has an enormous influence on the collectivised women themselves. The machinery and tractor stations which are of enormous importance to collective farming, play their special rôle in the organisation of woman labour.

Women tractor drivers are no longer an exception. They also manipulate other agricultural machines. The division line between the urban and rural female proletariat is disappearing, a thing utterly impossible under capitalism.

"The antagonism between industry and agriculture," said Comrade Lenin, "far from being removed by capitalism, is being more and more expanded and sharpened by it. With us transition from farming on a small scale to Socialist farming on a large scale opens the way to the complete disappearance of the antagonisms between town and country."

Crèches, nursery schools, public kitchens are now also at the disposal of the collectivised peasant women. Their active participation in Socialist construction and organised labour takes the place of the unorganised labour of the housewife who spends her live in doing, according to Lenin, the meanest, most disagreeable, and hard and soul killing work which can be summed up as household drudgery in a small household. If we are to believe bourgeois savants and writers, these services to the family represent "women's emancipation". Women in the Soviet Union think differently on this subject, and the collectivised peasant women welcome their emancipation from this ~~thing~~ and thankless labour.

But does this mean that the working and peasant women whose children have the privilege of being brought up in the children's institutions, are deprived of the delights of motherhood, as asserted by the bourgeoisie? Just the contrary is the case. Public bringing up of children enables their mothers to take an unalloyed joy in their children and to care for them. Are not children frequently slapped and knocked about in the individual households by their mothers who feel tired and out of sorts from the hard work in kitchen and washhouse? Children who at least for part of the time are brought up from early childhood in well organised children's institutions, grow up under Soviet conditions happy, active and well behaved, and get from their mothers who work in the factories and on collective farms real love and care. This is the enormous privilege of our Soviet Kiddies, the children of women workers and employees, peasant women in the Soviet and collective farms, provided we can make satisfactory arrangements with regard to crèches and nursery schools.

That is why working and peasant women are so eager to work for the establishment of children's institutions. They build up with their own hands these hearths of the new social life, ensuring hereby their own happiness and that of their children.

And what about public feeding? Let the bourgeoisie extoll in every possible way the importance of well organised home feeding, required for the strengthening of its hearth and home. The Kaiser's three Ks — Kirche, Kinder, Küche — (Church, children, kitchen) have been since times immemorial the three pillars of the society which rests on private ownership and oppression of the toilers. In that world, dinners cooked at home by a skilled man or woman cook cement the foundations of bourgeois exploitation and hypocrisy. You can hear something about this from the woman cook who has got rid of bourgeois exploitation and has already learned in the U.S.S.R. to govern her own State, i. e. the woman toiler of the U.S.S.R. Since she has thrown off the yoke of the bourgeois order, she has been taking part from the very first days of the revolution in the organisation of public feeding, because this must free her — and is already doing so — from soul killing household drudgery, including cooking. The working women of the whole world gladly associate themselves with the above mentioned description of housework given by Comrade Lenin.

The Soviet Power has already done much for the development of public feeding. Millions of toilers are looked after in this respect through the big public kitchens and smaller restaurants. Since 1927, big public kitchens are being set up in the industrial centers. But we admit that what has been done is not enough, and the XV. Congress of our Party made it incumbent on the trade unions to bring about a more rapid development of the network of restaurants and big public kitchens, and also to cheapening of public feeding. Wherever the working women themselves take over control over public feeding, we have already considerable achievements. Special mention deserves also the great and rather tedious work done by workingmen's

wives and housewives in general for the organisation of public feeding in the house associations. Much is also done for the organisation of children's feeding centers. Many of them are already patronised by the mothers whose children are fed there.

The fact that everything is done to raise the cultural level of the workers of the whole Soviet Union, especially of those in the Eastern regions and republics, has an influence on the change and reorganisation which are taking place in our social life. Millions of workers and peasants benefit by the cultural and educational work in the clubs, centers for the liquidation of illiteracy and village reading rooms. The trade unions carry on politico-educational work, chiefly through the clubs and red corners. We have throughout the U.S.S.R. up to 4000 clubs with 1 260 000 members, and about 40 000 Red Corners.

In the Eastern Republics and Regions, wherever women cannot visit the general clubs owing to the old customs and habits in these parts, special women's clubs are set up. In these clubs, the most backward women, still wearing the Purdall, raise their cultural level. Such women's clubs are schools of Communism for the women of the East. They re-educate them and convert them into active fighters for the Soviet social order. Crèches, children's playgrounds and medical consultation rooms are attached to these women's clubs. Our Party Congress adopted a decision regarding compulsory education and a further liquidation of illiteracy. At present, we have not a single club, Red Corner and School where women are not endeavouring to put an end to this old legacy, and some of our Eastern Republics can already boast of having made their whole population literate. This brings a radical change into the social life of the toilers.

We spend hundreds of millions of roubles for housing accommodation for the workers. This plays of course an important rôle with regard to improving and changing the social life of the workers, because the new houses make provision for the cultural and social requirements of the workers, they are being equipped to an ever growing extent with restaurants, clubs, crèches, laundries, etc.

The world of budding Socialism is set against the capitalist world, and the victory of our Socialist economic and political system is becoming more and more evident.

Despite the machinations of the class enemy who, having lost ground within the country, places his last hope on intervention, we are laying the foundation of Socialism in the third decisive year of the Five Year Plan. Our whole social life is permeated with labour enthusiasm. We are now in the midst of the decisive year for the carrying through of the Five Year Plan in four years. Under the leadership of our C.P.S.U. which does not swerve from the correct general line, and fights on two fronts, with Left and Right opportunists alike, we shall not only complete the foundation of socialism, but will fully establish it in the following five years. There isn't a power which could prevent this. We are the country of peaceful Socialist labour. The Soviet Power carried on consistently a peace policy, because making general peace secure is not only in the interest of the workers and toilers of our country, but also in the interest of those of all the other countries. But we also know how to defend the frontiers of the Soviet Country, in the event of our enemies carrying out their intervention plans.

The colossal development of our Socialist National Economy creates a sound foundation for the new social order. This foundation is the handiwork of working men and women under the leadership of the Leninist Bolshevik Party. The time is not far distant when the new social life will be in full bloom in our country.

„Pravda“ Tops the Two Million Mark.

The circulation of the "Prawda", the central organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is rapidly increasing. On the 5th May the circulation was 1,613,000. The circulation has been very much increased by the printing of special editions in Leningrad, Kharkov, Sverdlovsk, Tiflis and Baku. On 5th July the circulation was 2,400,000 copies. This was the day, on which Comrade Stalin's speech to the Conference of Soviet Economists and Industrial Leaders was published.

IN THE CAMP OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

The Vienna Congress of the Social Fascists.

By V. Knorin.

The Congress of the II. International will take place at the end of July in Vienna.

The entire international social democracy, which represents the main social support of the bourgeoisie, attributes extraordinarily great importance to this congress. The revolutionary crisis which is rapidly maturing in a number of countries and the rapid growth of the revolutionary upsurge shake, even the strongest social democratic parties. In Germany, Poland, Austria, in Czechoslovakia the social democratic periphery is visibly becoming narrower, and the process of individual and mass going over of the social democratic workers into the camp of Communism is increasing. The corrupted leaders of social democracy know that the development of this process may very quickly lead to social democracy becoming unable to successfully fulfil its rôle as the main social support of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, the most important tasks of the Vienna Congress of the II. International will consist in working out tactics to stop the exodus of the masses from the ranks of social democracy and saving the decaying and moribund capitalism from the approaching proletarian revolution.

There will be no workers at the Vienna Congress.

Only selected social fascists, former and future ministers of the bourgeoisie, mendacious parliamentary job-hunters, lieutenants of the bourgeoisie, and the biggest strikebreakers who call themselves trade union leaders will meet there. There will be no real, anticapitalist proletarian opposition even though this one or that one may play at "opposition".

But at this Congress the dissension between the social fascist leaders and those workers who still find themselves in the ranks of the social fascist parties only because they have not yet sufficiently understood the nature of present-day social democracy will become all the clearer. They joined social democracy under the supposition that they entered a Marxist workers' party; in the years of stabilisation and prosperity they saw that the trade unions had achieved a certain improvement in the condition of the workers at the expense of the growing surplus profits of capital and believed in the theory of "constructive socialism" as well as "organised capitalism". They did not observe that social democracy had become a party of the labour aristocracy, bribed in a number of countries by means of colonial surplus profits and in other countries with crumbs from the table of the bourgeoisie, for their participation in the government and for saving the bourgeoisie from the proletarian revolution. Despite the preponderance of the petty-bourgeois and corrupted bourgeois elements in the social democratic parties and the growing fascist degeneration of the leaders, such workers adhered to social democracy up till now because they regarded it as the representative of their material interests.

Under the present conditions of terrible unemployment, want and misery of the masses, these sections of the social democratic workers not only lose hope for an improvement in their well being, but they themselves feel the weight of the crisis and begin to understand their error. Their revolutionary consciousness is awakening within them. An expression of the process of "disillusionment" of these sections of the workers is shown by the ferment in a number of social democratic parties which is becoming a deadly menace for social democracy as well as for the capitalist system as a whole. Therefore, "left" manoeuvres of the social democratic leaders now became necessary in order to hinder the awakening of the Socialist class-consciousness of these workers and so as not to lose their influence over them. Therefore, the organisers of the Vienna Congress had to place a number of questions on the agenda which are at present agitating the workers. But they have placed these questions in such sequence as to avoid drawing Marxist conclusions and so as to make it difficult for the workers who are not skilled in political manœuvres to find an answer to these questions.

They have already made use of these machinations in the preparations for the Congress by not putting on the agenda the most important question of the day for the masses—the question

of the U.S.S.R., which will be the chief question in the whole discussion. The very existence of the U.S.S.R. shows the tremendous advantages of the socialist system and along with the economic crisis it has become the main cause of the growing awakening of class-consciousness of the workers and the increasing crisis of social democracy. The successes of the U.S.S.R. occupy the centre of public attention of the whole world; Communism and the revolutionary struggle of the Communist Party occupy the centre of attention of the masses of workers. Under these circumstances, social democracy cannot maintain its former domination of the public opinion of the working class even in those countries where the Communist Parties are still numerically weak.

The Socialist Five Year Plan and the increasing advance of the U.S.S.R. agitate for Communism while unemployment, want, the lowering of the standard of living and the growth of fascism agitate against social democracy. This contrast of two results places before the masses the question of the two methods: It offers an annihilating criticism to the methods of social democracy and emphasises the "Russian", that is, the Bolshevik method, which has given the toilers real democracy and freedom. This contrast of two results fully reveals the swindle of the leaders of the II. International, the bankruptcy of the theory of "constructive Socialism"—that is why its fathers foster such furious hatred against the U.S.S.R., that is why they thoroughly conceal the success of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. and now proclaim Communism as capitalism. Where this is fruitless they try to frighten the masses with the "dangers and difficulties" which are still before the U.S.S.R., and thereby to prove the "inapplicability" of the "Russian" method for their countries (Otto Bauer).

The "trickery" of the leadership of the II. International in drawing up the agenda of the Congress has expressed itself further by beginning the Congress for demagogic purpose with the question of the struggle for disarmament and against the war danger. By this means, the leadership wants to gloss over the revelations of the Moscow trial against the Mensheviks which proved that the social democrats prepare intervention against the U.S.S.R. and create the impression among the working masses that social democracy fights for disarmament and peace, thereby lulling the vigilance of the working masses to sleep. In reality the "pacifism" of social democracy is the "pacifism" of robbers and exploiters who want to maintain their rule over the oppressed masses and secure the subjection of the weak states under the big military powers. In as much as the Vienna Congress separates the war question from the question of the crisis and from the question of the situation and struggle of the working class, in as much as it turns this question into an affair of the imperialist governments, it converts itself into a preparatory commission of the Disarmament Commission of the League of Nations.

The only difference consists in the fact that the Vienna Congress will take place behind more tightly closed doors than the commission, that no delegation from the U.S.S.R. will be present—hence, no proposals will be made for real disarmament. Also the inner relations between the imperialist robbers will not be disclosed there.

The chief European problem, the growing crisis of the Versailles system, will here be discussed from the standpoint of the possibility of an agreement between the fighting imperialist cliques so that the Versailles burden can be shifted on to the shoulders of the toiling masses to a greater extent than heretofore so that the victors and the vanquished will be joined in a united front of battle against the U.S.S.R. The authors of the war programme and the builders of the armoured cruisers from the German social democracy, the authors of military laws and the champions of the necessity of increased "defensive capacity" (read: imperialist expansions) of France and the representative of the "War Ministry" (read: war preparation) of the British Labour Government will here be able to negotiate undisturbed for the interests of the "defence" of their countries and form a front against the proposals which would guarantee peace—against the proposals of the U.S.S.R. Here they will try to "solve" the contradictions of the Versailles System at the expense of the U.S.S.R.

There is no doubt that as a result of these "discussions" the war strength of the imperialists will really increase. The leaders of the II. International nevertheless admit openly that one "must arm for protection against the U.S.S.R." (even F. Adler). Now

even the "left" Otto Bauer cannot hide his interventionist talons. At the Vienna Conference of the social democratic youth he already stated openly that the U.S.S.R. does not develop its heavy industry in order to secure its economic independence and to increase Socialist production, but rather for "war considerations". And this insolent lie is only calculated to justify more cleverly than the others the Vienna anti-Soviet plot. In this way the most important task of the Vienna Congress will be the discussion on the first point of the agenda with anti-war, in reality, anti-Soviet, speeches which will attempt to restore the confidence in social democratic "pacifism" which was lost during the trial of the Mensheviks.

(To be concluded.)

OUR MARTYRS

Comrade Tsiang Tchu-fa.

The General Secretary of the Communist Party of China, Comrade Tsiang Tchu-fa, who was murdered on the 23rd June by the Kuomintang authorities with the direct co-operation of the foreign powers in Shanghai, was a proletarian by origin. For ten years he went through the hard school of illegality and civil war. Tsiang became a revolutionary when he was an apprentice in the Arsenal in Hanyang. His class-consciousness grew and consolidated throughout the ten years during which he earned his living as a seaman.

In 1922 he led a strike of seamen in Hongkong. He became chairman of the Seamen's Union and a member of the Executive Committee of the Handeting Union in which capacity he represented the union in the Trades and Labour Council in Hupeh. In 1922 he joined the Communist Party. In 1923 when General Wu Pei-fu crushed the strike of the railwaymen on the Peking-Hankow railway by indiscriminately massacring the strikers, Comrade Tsiang succeeded in organising powerful protest strikes and tremendous protest demonstrations in Hankow. During a period of the strictest illegality he was the secretary of the Communist Party district committee in Hupeh until 1926.

In 1926 after the victory of the Canton drive against the North, the working class movement in Central China came out into the open, and Comrade Tsiang became the chairman of the Province Trades and Labour Council in Wuhan. He fought not only against the reaction, but also against the opportunists in the Communist Party who sought to secure the disarming of the workers. At the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of China he was elected secretary of the Party and remained so from 1926 until his arrest and execution.

Comrade Tsiang took an active part in the international meetings and conferences, including the Fourth congress of the Red International of Labour Unions. At the Sixth Congress of the Communist International he was elected a member of the Executive Committee. He was a fine revolutionary fighter and communist. He is dead, but his work lives and goes on. Hundreds of thousands will rise in his stead to fight for the final victory of the Chinese revolution. Honour his memory!

OBITUARY

Comrade Jean Winterich.

By W. Keller (Berlin).

The German and the international proletariat have lost one of their best members. Comrade Jean Winterich died in hospital in Berlin on the 20th June. Comrade Winterich was a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party and a communist member of the Prussian Diet in which he represented constituency No. 20 (Cologne-Aachen).

Jean Winterich was born in a little village in the Rhineland near Trier in 1886 as the son of a poor peasant. He grew up amidst privation and misery. Very soon he came into contact with the industrial proletariat. In 1908 he joined the German Metal Workers Union, and in the following year he joined the Social Democratic Party. When the S.P.D. split in 1917 he went with the Independent Social Democratic Party and was later on one of the most active leaders of the Independent Social Democratic Party in Cologne and succeeded in taking the Cologne organisation solidly with him to the Communist Party. He was closely connected with the factory workers and for years he was their leader in the Rhineland.

Comrade Winterich belonged to the left-wing of the party and at the Party Congress in Frankfurt on Main 1924 he was elected for the first time into the Central Committee of the Party. In the Ruth Fischer-Maslow period his close relations with the workers in the factories prevented him from making sectarian petty-bourgeois errors of this group.

Since March 1924 Comrade Winterich was the political leader of the Central Rhineland district and in this capacity he performed a tremendous amount of valuable work. Under his leadership the Party made important progress in the Rhineland against the influence of the Social Democratic Party, particularly in Cologne, in Aachen and in the Worms mining area.

Following on the Wedding Congress of the Communist Party Comrade Winterich became a member of the Political Bureau in which capacity he again proved his bolshevist steadfastness and hardness and his persistent energy and devotion to the cause of the proletariat. And then the sickness which finally brought his revolutionary career to an end began to make itself felt. He was sent to Western Saxony as the political leader of that district and he carried on his work in an heroic struggle against his failing physical powers.

He was present at many international conferences and congresses, and his unwavering clarity in all the struggle of the proletariat assisted in furthering the revolutionary movement on an international scale.

Comrade Jean Winterich is now dead, but his struggle is being continued. The German and the international proletariat stand with lowered flags at the grave of an exemplary bolshevik.