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CONTENTS

Politics		Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union	
A. Norden: The Situation in Germany	22	V. Kuibyshev: On the Treshold of the Fourth Year of the Five-Year Plan	30
A. Kurella: The New Policy of the Italian Fascist Party	23	Concluding Speech of Comrade Molotov at the II. Session of the C.E.C. of the Soviet Union	33
War in the Far East		N. Ossinsky: The Fourth Year of the Five-Year Plan	35
M.: The War Provocations of the Imperialists in the Far East	24	The Labour Movement	
India		Gerard V anter: The Intensification of the Class Struggle in Holland	36
B. Saunders: The Old and the New in India's Struggle for Freedom	25	In the International	
China		For the Bolshevik Unity of the Party! (Resolution of the C.P. of France)	37
The Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic	26	Against Colonial Oppression	
Yu: The Working Women of Soviet China	27	J. Shields: The National Government in Britain and Colonial Oppression	38
World "Disarmament" Conference		Musso: The Situation in Indonesia	39
How the Imperialists are Preparing for the "Disarmament" Conference	28	In the R.I.L.U.	
Levin-Liebknicht-Luxemburg-Campaign		The VIII. Session of the Council of the R.I.L.U. Concluding Speech by Comrade Losovsky	39
Fritz Heckert: January 15, 1919	29		

French Imperialism and the Reparations Conference.

By Gabriel P é r i (Paris).

Since the publication of the report of the Basle Special Advisory Committee, France has been preparing for the forthcoming Conference at Lausanne by attempting firmly to weld together the Franco-British front and to push the question of the reparations to a certain extent into a cul de sac.

The compromise project worked out between the experts of the French and British Treasuries, which was published some days ago in the "Daily Telegraph", meets the main demands of French imperialism. It enables the French imperialists to assert that France is helping the German bourgeoisie and holding the revolution in check, whilst at the same time it maintains the hegemony of France in Europe. The compromise allows France the right to use reparations as a constant means of pressure on the German people. It is true, the unpostponable annuities of the German Reich will be paid into the Bank for International Settlements, which in return will invest them in the German railways, but the German Reich is nevertheless under the obligation to make these payments. According to the project, Germany is granted a three years' moratorium, nevertheless, in the years following the expiration of the moratorium, payment of the enormous sums payable under the Young Plan will have to be rendered. In addition, Germany must, as compensation, continue the deliveries in kind.

This Franco-English rapprochement policy has as its aim not only the maintenance of French hegemony and the

systematic exploitation of the German people, but also the common fight against the revolt of the colonial peoples—in the first place in Syria and in India—as well as unity of action in the Far East. It is a remarkable fact that some days after the drawing up of the Franco-English compromise regarding reparations, France and England demonstratively refused to join America in its protest Note to the Japanese government, and thereby made known that they support with all their forces the robber-campaign of Japanese imperialism.

The French bourgeoisie wished to complete their preparations for the Lausanne Conference by extending the basis of their government, i. e., by setting up a Cabinet of national unity in which all bourgeois and social democratic fractions—which are united in regard to the general principles of French imperialist policy—would be represented. Thus, after the death of Maginot and the announcement of Briand's resignation, there were rumours to the effect that Laval intended to invite MM. Herriot, Boncour, Painlevé etc. to take part in the government. The nearness of the Parliamentary elections, however, rendered this coalition difficult. Nevertheless, the formation of such a government remains a prospect for the not distant future.

In the midst of these preparations there came the declaration of Brüning regarding reparations. Leading French circles have long received proofs of the servile readiness of the German bourgeoisie to accept all the dictates of the allies. It is not the first time that the German bourgeoisie,

in order to divert the working masses from the immediate fight against the slave treaties, have resorted to the manoeuvre of opposing the interests of England to those of France. The German people, however, have always been the cheated party in these manoeuvres, and French imperialism has always finally succeeded in enforcing its will. This was the case in the debates on the Austro-German Customs Union, as well as in the debates on disarmament. The first reaction of the French bourgeoisie to Brüning's declaration consisted in the formulation of very plain threats, which are intended to compel Germany again to capitulate.

The French Finance Minister **Flandin** set the tone. Immediately following the action of the German Reichs Chancellor, Flandin declared that the Conference of Lausanne has become useless. The government papers formulated even more unmistakable threats. "**Les Debats**", the organ of De Wendel, openly spoke of war. "**L'Ordre**", the mouth-piece of the French Comité de Forges, and "**L'Avenir**", the organ of the "Union of Economic Interests", wrote that Brüning would not have ventured to make this declaration if the French troops still occupied Mainz. "**L'Echo de Paris**" writes that it would be necessary to submit the dispute to the Hague Court of International Justice, but France however, would only receive from it a free hand to make war. "**Temps**" emphasises that in this case it is less a question of the reparations payments owing than the privileges contained in the treaty.

Writing in the "Echo de Paris" of 11th January, **Pertinax** elaborates a regular plan of economic war against the German Reich. Here are some of his main points:

1. At the end of February the Bank of France shall refuse to prolong the credit of 20 million pounds sterling granted to the Reichsbank.

2. France shall immediately exert pressure upon certain creditors of Germany who are debtors of France.

3. France shall employ a system of direct taxation of German imports to France.

The French press naturally emphasises that all parties are united in regard to the reparations question. Thus, for example, the "Temps" writes:

"M. Herriot has often asserted that our right to reparations bore a sacred character. Even M. Leon Blum has recognised the legitimacy of our right to reparations."

In face of this common front of the bourgeois parties and the social democracy for the defence of the reparations policy, the Communist Party of France is calling upon the working population to set up the united front for the fight against the robber treaties. The tribute payments are a burden on the shoulders not only of the German workers, but also of the French proletariat. Every increase in the misery of the German workers has always been the starting point for a fresh offensive of the French employers against the French workers. The attack on the wages of the French miners, metal workers, seamen and textile workers were preceded by the attack on the wages of their German fellow workers. The reduction of unemployment benefit and relief in Germany was seized upon by Laval as a desired pretext for leaving the French unemployed in the greatest misery.

For this reason, the alliance of the French and German proletariat must be strengthened in the course of the everyday fights in both countries, in order to conduct to a successful issue the fight against reparations tributes, against the imperialist debts and for the abolition of the robber treaties.

New Red Army Active in Fukien Province.

Peking, 11th January 1932.

A new Red Army is active in the province of **Fukien**. The workers of the town Tynchow have organised a Red Army 15,000 strong. A soviet government exists in Eastern Fukien. Actions on the part of local detachments of Red Guards are being reported more and more frequently.

A certain liveliness on the part of the Red Army in **Shansi** is reported. Towards the end of December it occupied the town Huichang.

POLITICS

The Political Situation in Germany.

By A. Norden (Berlin).

Not the Reichstag but "the people" shall elect Hindenburg! That is the meaning of the reply which was given by Hitler and Hugenberg to the proposal of the Reichs-Chancellor to have Hindenburg's term of office prolonged by the Reichstag. The statement issued by the German nationalists regarding this decision declares that for the Reichstag to elect the President would mean at the same time a vote of confidence in the Reichs-Chancellor, and that a Parliamentary solution would not strengthen the position of the Reichs President but of the Reichstag.

Now the German nationalists and the Nazis in the Federal governments are the most reliable executors of Brüning's policy of emergency decrees, and the differences between them and Brüning are in no way based on principle but are only differences of degree, as the emergency order dictatorship is not yet sufficiently fascist for the national opposition. It can only be regarded as a joke when the so-called national opposition seeks to differentiate between Hindenburg and Brüning, for no Brüning emergency order has been issued without having Hindenburg's signature to it.

The gesture against Brüning is only intended for demagogic purposes. Broad masses of the national socialist followers have been very hard hit by the policy of emergency orders, and were Hitler all too openly to conclude a pact with Brüning, it might easily lead to an open outbreak of the latent class crisis in the national socialist party. Already the fact that Hitler pays court to Hindenburg in a downright revolting and servile manner has called forth indignation in the Berlin storm detachments. Hitler, a voluntary prisoner of big who unceasingly attempts to play the role of a big being bombarded with protests from his supporters in all of the Reich.

The fact that Hitler and Hugenberg, and also the Stahlhelm leaders, are in favour of Hindenburg's term of office being prolonged, is described by the social democracy as a retreat or even as a swing to the Left! This is a contemptible, stupid attempt to deceive the social democratic workers. Hitler and Hugenberg are not going to the Left, but Wels and Breitscheid are going farther to the Right. It will be remembered how, seven years ago, at the time of the Presidential election, these gentlemen vilified the Communist Party and Comrade Thälmann in particular as "stirrup holders of Hindenburg" because the Communist Party put forward Comrade Thälmann as its candidate for the Presidency. To-day they are vying with this Adolf Hitler in glorifying this same Hindenburg, and in the "Vorwärts" plainly express their readiness to elect Hindenburg.

From Hitler to Wels there is now plainly and demonstratively exhibited the "national unity", signs of which were already apparent in the emergency decrees issued by Brüning in the Reich, Severing in Prussia, and Klagges in Brunswick. It is the united front of the wage and salary reductions and the police clubs, which are wielded by both arms of the government of the fascist dictatorship: social fascism and the national fascists (Nazis).

The alliance for offence and defence from the right to the left relates not only to home but also to the foreign policy. Brüning's declaration that Germany will not pay any further Young tributes has met with the whole-hearted applause of the "Vorwärts" and also of Hitler's organ ("Völkischer Beobachter"), which notes "with the greatest satisfaction" Brüning's interview with the British Ambassador and describes it as "a confirmation of the correctness of all that the national socialists have again and again demanded".

The attempt of the government to take advantage of the capitalist crisis in order to rid itself once and for all of the Young tributes which it itself undertook to pay, is of course doomed to failure. It the attempts undertaken by the ruling class of Germany ten years ago to conduct with Great Britain a policy against France found its miserable end in the liquidation of the passive resistance in the Ruhr, the more so must this be the case now, when, instead of Lord d'Abernon,

who represented the British Empire which was then competing with France on more or less equal terms, but Sir Horace Rumbold now represents Great Britain, which is beaten by France on the whole Continent and is shaken by an inflation crisis.

It is possible and probable that the moratorium for Germany's payments under the Young Plan will be prolonged, but at the same time France will take care that Brüning's gesture of defiance will suffer a fiasco; for Laval does not think of permitting a remission of Germany's liabilities under the Young Plan. Rumours are already current that as a reply to the Brüning declaration, France will withdraw further money from Germany, and there is no doubt that the Reichs-Chancellor had achieved one success: the German Dawes and Young loans are beginning to fall steadily on the world Stock Exchanges.

For the rest, the past year has thoroughly destroyed the German nationalist legend which was used in order to divert the workers from the class struggle, that only the Young payments are responsible for the misery in Germany.

Since last Summer, Germany has not paid a penny reparations. The misery and poverty have not been reduced thereby; the stock of foreign bills in the possession of the German Reichsbank has not increased; unemployment has not diminished, nor has the capitalist crisis abated in any way. Quite the contrary.

Moreover, Herr Brüning, quite wisely, only mentioned the reparations. But to-day they are no longer the chief thing, as over 2000 millions have to be paid annually for the private long and short-term loans of the German bourgeoisie, and this has to be squeezed out of the working population. But Brüning does not say a word against these tributes; neither does Hitler or Wels. And even if they do say anything about them it is only to declare their readiness to pay these vast sums punctually.

Therefore, Brüning's foreign political manoeuvre must be regarded as an attempt to divert the exploited working masses of Germany from the enemy in their own country and to represent the Young slavery as the general cause of their misery. Parallel with this foreign political action there runs the attempt in the sphere of home politics to bolster up the "national front" by means of the Hindenburg elections.

As with every Parliamentary and foreign political action, so also at the Presidential election, the Communist Party will of course consider only the interests of the proletariat. **The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany has just adopted a decision to put forward Comrade Ernst Thälmann as the candidate of the Communist Party.** Hindenburg or Thälmann, that means for or against the emergency orders and wage cuts, for or against the enslavement of the working population by the native and foreign capitalists, for the Young Plan or for the revolutionary cancellation of the Versailles Treaty by a socialist Germany, freed from its own capitalists, with the help of the international solidarity of the proletariat of the Soviet Union and of the capitalist countries. Thus the Presidential elections will give the Communist Party a new opportunity to mobilise the working people against the policy of the emergency orders and to win them for the red united front. The Communist Party of Germany will make the very best use of this chance.

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Appeal of the C. P. of Germany Concerning the Presidential Election.

Berlin, January 12, 1932.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany has considered the question of the Presidential Elections. The Communist Party of Germany, as the only political class representative of the German proletariat, will take part independently in the election campaign by setting up its own candidate and actively mobilising the exploited masses of the people. The Communist Party regards the presidential election, like all other elections and referendums, not as a parliamentary but as an extra-parliamentary task, as part of the struggle—class against class. It is perfectly aware that it will never be possible for the Communist Party to gain a majority of the votes in an election carried out under bourgeois "rules of the game". The Communist Party will therefore utilise the election to mobilise the masses of the workers on the basis of their every-day struggles, for its political aims, to establish the united front of the revolutionary

proletariat under communist leadership, and to expose and fight against the parties of the fascist dictatorship, including the social democracy, which is the deadly enemy of the working class.

In view of the efforts being made to put forward the present Reich's President Hindenburg as the candidate of a reactionary block extending from the fascists to the social democrats, the putting forward of a communist candidate is of extreme importance.

The Central Committee has decided to put forward the Chairman of the Communist Party of Germany, **Comrade Ernst Thälmann**, as red workers' candidate at the presidential elections. The Communist Party of Germany conducts the election campaign as an extra-parliamentary mass action, supported by the class organisations and united front organs of the proletariat, under the following slogans:

1. Class against class; 2. Revolutionary united front against the reaction from Severing to Hitler; 3. Vote for the revolutionary workers candidate against the candidate of the capitalists, fascists and social democrats; 4. Vote for the supporter of social and national emancipation and against the tribute and reparations candidate; 5. Vote for the candidate of the poor and against the candidate of the rich; 6. Vote for bread and freedom and against poverty and slavery; 7. Vote for a Free Socialist Soviet Germany in alliance with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics of Russia and the world proletariat and against the candidate of bankrupt capitalism.

The Communist Party of Germany appeals to the working class, to the exploited and oppressed masses in town and country to take up the struggle under these slogans, to put forward hundreds of thousands of red election workers, to form election committees in the factories and at the labour exchanges and to give their votes solidly for the revolutionary workers candidate Ernst Thälmann.

The New Policy of the Italian Fascist Party.

By Alfred Kurella.

The radical measures to change the party regime of the Italian fascist party which were heralded by the appointment of **A. Starace** as party secretary, have now been concluded. If one surveys the whole system of measures which have been adopted in the course of the last four weeks by the new party leadership, one receives the impression that this new turn was a **last minute action** in order to avert a sort of palace revolution. In these three weeks the whole activity of the former party secretary **Giuriati**, who was removed from his position on December 6, has been as good as liquidated.

The activity of the late party secretary Giuriati was characterised by three things: by the founding of the fighting youth organisation for youths of 18 to 23 years; by the development of a whole system of friendly societies of the party members; and the setting up of various special bureaus alongside the party secretariat, as for instance a control commission (disciplinary bureau) and a special commission for the corporation. In addition—what is of particular importance—, there is the decision adopted by the party directorate in March to extend until the end of October 1932 the regulation, which has been in force since 1926, forbidding the acceptance of new members into the party.

These measures led to the party secretary securing the sympathy of the party functionaries, especially however of the newly created youth organisation, the leadership of which he had taken in hand himself. The **youth organisation** rapidly developed into a **mass organisation**, which began to grow over the head of the actual party and to come into opposition to it. Among the causes which led to this rapid development of the youth organisation was the circumstance that whilst the party admitted no new members, the ranks of the youth organisation were open to new members. Further, in accordance with a special directive of the party secretary, the function of youth commander was incompatible with that of party secretary, which led to the establishment of an entirely new responsible cadre in the shape of the youth leaders. Whilst the membership of the actual party remained stationary, the **most active and go-ahead elements of the petty bourgeois youth** streamed into the youth organisations. Thus it came more and more frequently to open clashes between the numerically strong youth groups and the "real and genuine fasci", to quote the words of the official communique of the new party secretary.

The Party order issued by Mussolini on December 12, announced that the transference of the party on to the new line should be carried out by the party secretary making a tour of the provinces. This tour commenced with a visit by Signor Starace to Milan on December 20. All provinces were to be visited by the end of January. The tour however was suddenly broken off, after Signor Starace's visit to Milan was ended by the sudden death of Arnaldo Mussolini. Starace returned to Rome.

Shortly before Signor Starace's journey to Milan there took place the **first alteration in the State apparatus** by the removal from his position of Signor Ferretti, who had hitherto been Mussolini's press chief. There was already then talk of an approaching reconstitution of the Cabinet. So far however this has not taken place. The Ministerial Council which met on December 19, adopted a number of important decisions, mainly in favour of the big agrarians, without there being any outward signs of a crisis.

On the other hand, however, the inner party measures were put through with all possible speed. In the last ten days of December, Starace appointed new provincial secretaries and provincial directorates of the party. In some cases, as preparation for the new appointments, commissars or "regents" of the party directorate were sent to the provinces in question. Thus a member of the newly appointed directorate, Remo Ranieri, was sent to Alessandria. After 14 days of revision activity, he carried through the appointment of 80 podesti (burgomasters) and then proposed his candidate for the post of federal secretary, which was confirmed by Mussolini. By the end of the year, **the party directorates in 15 provinces were dissolved and new ones appointed.**

On January 4th, comprehensive directives of the party secretary were issued regarding **the reorganisation of the party and of the youth organisation.** The party again opens its ranks to outsiders, but only after a thorough examination of the applicants. A **special commission** is set up to inquire into **the whole question of the fighting youth organisations.** Until this commission has submitted its findings, the following new regulations will be in force.

The whole youth organisation is divided into "squadi", according to the example of the party, so that it shall be easier to keep a check of the membership. **The leading functionaries** of the youth organisation **lose their title as independent commanders** and are named "Second commanders" and "second adjutants" who are subordinated to the respective party functionaries. The party secretary must have the full, complete and undivided responsibility of command over all fascist forces. "In this way", says the decree, "the youth leaders will resist the temptation to oppose the party secretary in any manner" (!).

The drastic change of the leading party functionaries and the liquidation of the independence of the fighting youth organisation, shows how serious the danger of the formation of an inner party fraction must have been.

But the efforts of Giuriati and his friends were not confined to the party and the youth. They also attempted to obtain a basis of power in the **State apparatus**, above all in the corporations. The first blow of the newly appointed party secretary against these attempts was a number of measures which, in an unprecedented manner, subordinated important functions of the corporative system directly to the party secretary.

Shortly after the appointment of the new party directorate, Starace was given a whole number of leading functions. He dissolved the bureau for corporations created by Giuriati, and took over himself the connection with the corporations. In addition, he put himself at the head of the "Association of civil servants unions", to which the railway workers, post office workers, employees and workers of State undertakings belong.

One is not far wrong if one sees in the inner difficulties of the fascist party of Italy the reflections of the growing economic and social crisis. There exists no doubt that there is expressed in the youth organisations the discontent of the petty bourgeois elements, who see the cause of their daily worsening situation in the rule of the bureaucrats, who are more undisguisedly carrying out a policy dictated by the interests of finance capital. It is equally obvious that Giuriati's activity does not in any way constitute a real "revolutionary" tendency. We have here only another variety of fascism, an attempt to place the radicalised fascist youth in the service of the policy of a fraction of the bourgeoisie.

THE WAR IN THE FAR EAST

The War Provocations of the Imperialists in the Far East.

By M. (Paris).

The danger of a war against the Soviet Union is increasing every day. At present this danger is most threatening in the **Far East.** At the same time, however, eager preparations for attack are also being made in the West, in the East European countries, the vassal States of France. To let loose war against the Soviet Union in the Far East and then to drive forward the attack on the European frontiers of the Soviet Union, that is the plan of the imperialists, especially of French imperialism.

In order to launch the attack, a whole number of provocative acts have been committed, by which it was intended to call forth the necessary "incident" which should bring about the desired collision.

After the Chinese General **Ma Chang Chan** (who was later exposed as a Japanese agent) had been accused of receiving weapons from the Soviet Union, after the conspiracy of the Russian White Guardists which was exposed in Harbin, there came the **Vanek affair.** The attempt on the life of the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow which the Czechoslovakian diplomat endeavoured to arrange, was intended to provoke a declaration of war by Japan on the Soviet Union.

As the new "Sarajevo" prepared in Moscow did not prove a success, acts of provocations are now being committed in **Harbin** in order to bring about the occupation of the town by Japanese troops, who shall help the "government" of the lackeys of French imperialism in **Mukden** to drive citizens of the Soviet Union from East China. Attacks by white guardists on the Consulate of the Soviet Union in Harbin are to be expected. These operations have undoubtedly been agreed upon between Paris and Tokyo in order to call forth a protest by the Soviet government.

This would be the signal for the sending of Japanese troops, who would be supported by the air squadrons which are now being concentrated from the new air ports of **Tsitsihar, Harbin** and **Kirin** in the direction of the Soviet frontier, whilst the bands of the Russian white guardists **Kusmin** and **Semenov** would commence their bandit attacks on the territory of the Soviet Union. At present the Russian white guardist press in Harbin and in Paris is filled with discussions regarding the expediency and also the details of an attack by the Japanese army on the Far Eastern frontier of the Soviet Union from the Lake Baikal to the Kamchatka peninsula.

It is now reported that a bomb has been thrown at the Mikado's carriage while returning to his palace in **Tokyo.** The assailant, a **Korean**, was immediately arrested. One can expect to hear that he is a "**revolutionary in the pay of the Soviets.**" But this case, which occurred two weeks after the discovery of the Vanek conspiracy in Moscow, shows very clearly the haste with which the imperialists are preparing to commence war on the Soviet Union.

The Japanese imperialists have already made themselves masters of Tsingtau and Shanhaikwan, which makes them masters of the whole of Manchuria and the routes from Manchuria to North China, and are also beginning to blockade the Chinese ports.

The imperialists are preparing to occupy **Tientsin**—where the French garrison is held in constant readiness for war—to land troops in Foochow. The French troops who have been concentrated in South China have already commenced the war of intervention against the Chinese Soviets. British gunboats are already stationed in the upper reaches of the Yangtse and four British torpedo boat destroyers have just left Malta with orders to proceed to China. In Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, everything is ready for the mobilisation of the armies under the command of officers of the French General Staff.

All the conditions, therefore, exist in order to commence a war against the Soviet Union, and the Paris newspaper of the Russian counter-revolutionary Miljukov was certainly well informed when it announced some days ago that an attack would be made on the Soviet Union in the coming Spring.

For the moment relations between Japan and the United States are very much strained owing to their dispute over the partition of China.

The United States is not prepared to look on while Japan alone derives benefit from the plundering of China. It also wants to have a share in the booty—and a big share at that. It has therefore addressed a Note to Japan and also to China.

But France and Great Britain refuse to join in the action taken by the United States. French imperialism is taking advantage of the antagonism between Japan and the United States in order to increase the understanding between France, Japan and Great Britain, which is not only necessary to them for the common fight against the colonial revolts in British India and Indo-China, but also for France's fight for hegemony in Europe and the further enslavement of the working masses in Germany.

But the fight against the land of Socialism, the necessity of the capitalist Powers, who are in the midst of a crisis, to make an attempt to crush the workers' State which is rapidly building up Socialism, must cause the imperialists to sink their differences for the moment in order to realise the united front of the declining capitalist world against the rising socialist world. In this task French imperialism plays the leading role.

INDIA

The Old and the New in India's Struggle for Freedom.

By B. Saunders (London).

The revolutionary gale is once more sweeping the Indian continent. In the **United Provinces** more than 1,000 villages have decided not to pay the rent to the zemindars. The no-rent movement is spreading farther to the Punjab in the North and to Bengal in the South. In the **North-Western frontier province** the Red Shirts arouse the tribes against their chieftains—the nominees of British imperialism. In **Bengal** the students have taken to the bomb with such a zeal that during the last two months the killing of British officials became an almost every day phenomenon. Sporadic workers' strikes have broken out in a number of cities. Open battles with the imperialist police and military are reported from Peshawar, Chittagong, Bombay . . .

The imperialist executions have run amok. For months past the European Association of British capitalists in India which in that country takes the place of the so-called "public opinion" elsewhere, has been shouting for blood. Lord Reading admitted in the House of Lords that the Indian Government was discussing last year the "policy" of making a desert out of India. It is this "policy" that is now put into action.

"To make a desert out of India!"—this is the motto of MacDonald's National Government. And the British rulers of India, stained with the blood of the toiling masses, are as good as their word. The policy of suppression is being carried out on a truly grand fashion, on a Himalayan scale. Mass shootings, mass imprisonment, punitive expeditions, military parades through the villages, Martial Law all over the country—this is something unheard of even in the eventful years of 1919—21.

The bourgeois **National Congress** is again embarking on its old game. The Congress has declared for civil disobedience. **Patel**, its president, has promised this time it will be "a war to a finish". **Gandhi** once more went to prison, again in the company of his God and the spinning wheel. All this looks like a tedious repetition of an old familiar tale.

But history does not repeat itself. The Indian masses on the back of which the Congress carries out its policy of sham fights and actual surrenders, are already different from the masses that two years ago were reverently making salt from sea-water. The masses have learnt much and are learning every day more about the treacherous role of the bourgeois nationalists.

"Its, i. e. the Congress' service and its challenge", writes the "Liberty" with pride: "have led the Government out of many a misadventure . . . It was Congress

that rallied India in a day and made the Delhi Pact. It was Congress that suspended its considered conviction in the interests of peace when it deputed Mahatma Gandhi to the Round Table Conference. Congress in the person of Mahatma Gandhi laboured and negotiated and compromised . . ."

Yes, it was the Congress that compromised India's struggle for freedom! There can be no doubt but that the Indian masses have assimilated this experience. And if the Congress now declares civil disobedience without going through all the intermediate stages of Gandhi's prayers to God and the Vice-roy, without spectacular marches to the sea like in the year 1930, when it took Gandhi 11 months to start the campaign decided upon by the Lahore Congress, it is because the bourgeois nationalists know that the masses have changed, and will no more put up with dilatory tactics.

To be sure, the Indian workers and peasants who now enter the anti-imperialist struggle have not yet drawn all the necessary conclusions from their bitter experience with the counter-revolutionary Congress. This, the **Indian Communist Party** must help them to do. To bring out before the masses the history of the Congress betrayals past and present, in its proper light is the supreme task of the moment. This can be done only on the basis of organising the masses in the present fight which is developing with ever increasing momentum. This task of the Indian communists is much easier now than it was two years ago. For the treachery of the Congress to the cause of India's freedom is as old as the Congress itself. But the Indian masses are being reborn in the fire of the struggle. Under revolutionary guidance they will achieve victory.

London, January 8.

The Vice-roy has granted interviews to a number of Indian Liberal leaders who attended the Round Table Conference with a view to arranging for the smooth working of the Round Table committees which are nearly due to assemble in India. At the same time the whole position is being reviewed by the Imperialists and their lackeys. The London "Daily Telegraph" reports that proposals for the calling off of civil disobedience had been prepared by Mr. Jayakar, the "Moderate", leader before Gandhi's arrest and had been shown to him. Says the Telegraph:

"The Moderate leaders had drawn up compromise proposals which they placed before Mr. Gandhi . . . He yielded to the Moderate's pressure stating that he had no objection to the proposals being laid before the Viceroy by Mr. Jayakar".

At **Cawnpore** a number of boys and girls 14 and 15 years of age, have been arrested and charged with circulating leaflets on the No-Rent campaign. Their parents have been summarily fined. The salt laws were broken to-day at **Karachi**, where a number of Indians in defiance of the Government proclamation, marched to the seashore and made salt. This was later sold at a public meeting.

The **Calcutta** Corporation has decided by a majority vote to suspend its sitting as a "protest against the reactionary and repressive policy of the Government".

In **Ahmedabad** the City Council has decided to buy no British goods until further notice. In both Councils the only Councillors to vote against these measures were the appointed European members.

Dr. Ansari, the acting President of Congress, has been arrested. He is the third successive president taken into custody this week. Ten other leaders were arrested at **Karachi** to-day. Two prominent Poona lawyers were arrested to-day while attending the civil court there to defend the prisoners in a conspiracy case.

January 12 is the anniversary of the hanging of a number of Indians in connection with the death of a number of police in fighting in **Sholapur**. The Government have decided that on that day a parade of British troops with flags flying and bands playing shall be organised in that city. A machine gun company is to remain in the city while the battalion marches through the surrounding district "showing the flag".

London, January 11, 1932.

During the last six days 4,000 persons were arrested in the North West Frontier Province; nevertheless the Red Shirts continue to display great activity.

When yesterday the Congress men arrived at Bombay Common in order to celebrate the weekly salutation of the flag which is now prohibited, they found large numbers of troops assembled there. A large crowd watched the demonstrative hoisting of the Union Jack, the line of inspection and the march past. In the middle of the proceedings, a man bearing the tricolour of the Congress, broke through the ranks marching straight to the saluting base amidst great cheers of the crowd. The man was at once arrested and the crowd dispersed by the troops.

An armed crowd 12,000 strong besieged the police station at Srenegar yesterday and released three peasants who had been arrested. 28 persons were injured last night in Karachi as a result of a police charge with lathis following a meeting.

Gandhi's wife has been arrested in Bardoli.

CHINA

The Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic.

Adopted at the First All-Chinese Soviet Congress on November 7, 1931.

The first All-Chinese Soviet Congress proclaims before the toiling masses of China and of the whole world the fundamental lines of the Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic. It regards the realisation of this Constitution in the whole of China as its fundamental task.

In the existing Soviet districts a commencement has already been made to carry out these tasks. But the first All-Chinese Soviet Congress recognises that it will be possible to carry out completely the Constitution only after the final overthrow of the ruling power of imperialism and of the Kuomintang in the whole of China, only after the setting up of the rule of the All-Chinese Soviet Republic, and that the Constitution can then be made more concrete and become a complete Constitution of the whole Soviet Republic. The first All-Chinese Soviet Congress calls upon the workers, peasants and the toiling masses of the whole of China, to fight under the leadership of the Provisional government of the Soviet Republic of China for their central tasks, the realisation of the following Constitution:

1. The task of the Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic consists in securing the political power of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and of the peasantry in the Chinese Soviet districts and its final establishment in the whole of China. The aim of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and of the peasantry is to destroy all the remnants of feudalism, to destroy the position of power of the imperialist Powers in China, to unite the whole country, systematically to restrict the development of capitalism, to develop State economy, to promote the class-consciousness and the organisation of the proletariat, and to rally the broad masses of the poor peasants round the proletariat until the going over to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

2. The Chinese Soviet Power is establishing a State based on the democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants. The whole power of the Soviets belongs to the workers, peasants, members of the Red Army and all the toiling masses. Under the Soviet Power, all workers, peasants, members of the Red Army and all the toiling masses of the population have the right to elect delegates, who exercise political power. On the other hand, the capitalists, landowners, gentry, militarists, reactionary officials, big peasants, monks and nuns, all exploiting and counter-revolutionary elements are deprived of the right to elect delegates or to share in political power, and they enjoy no political liberties.

3. The supreme power of the Chinese Soviet Republic is the Congress of the All-Chinese Workers, Peasants' and Soldiers' deputies (Soviets). After the conclusion of the Congress, the highest organ of power is the provisional Central Executive Committee of the All-Chinese Soviets, to which is subordinated the Peoples Commissariat for the conducting of government affairs, the promulgation of laws, directions and decisions.

4. In the Soviet districts the workers, peasants, members of the Red Army and all the working masses as well as the members of their families, without distinction of sex, race

(Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Mohammedans, Tibetans etc. and the Koreans, Formosans and Indo-Chinese living in China), and religion are all equal in the eyes of the Soviet law; they are all citizens of the Soviet Republic. In order that the workers, peasants, soldiers and the working population shall be able really to exercise their own political power, the following Soviet election laws have been issued: All the above-named Soviet citizens over the age of 16 enjoy the right to vote and to be elected; they directly elect the delegates to all Congresses of the workers, peasants and soldiers deputies (Soviets), which discuss and decide all national and local affairs.

The election units are: for workers, the factories and works; for the peasants, artisans and city poor, the residential area. The Soviet delegates elected in these election units have a definite term of office; they conduct the work of the commissions and various organisations of the village or town Soviets. The delegates must, within a definite period, give reports to their electors. The electors have the right at any time to replace their elected representative and to hold a new election. As only the proletariat can lead the broad masses of the peasants and toilers on the path of Socialism, the Chinese Soviet power grants to the proletariat the privilege at elections to elect a relatively greater number of delegates.

5. The aim of the Soviet Power is to improve fundamentally the standard of life of the working class, to enact laws for the protection of labour, to carry out the eight-hour day, to fix a minimum wage, to establish social insurance and State benefit for the unemployed, to assure the right to control production by the workers.

6. Another aim of the Chinese Soviet power is to destroy feudalism, fundamentally to improve the standard of living of the peasants, to issue a law for the confiscation of the land of the big landowners and its distribution among the poor and middle peasants, and finally to carry out the nationalisation of the land.

7. Further, the Chinese Soviet Power has set itself the aim to safeguard the interests of the workers and peasants, to restrict the development of capitalism, to free the working masses from exploitation by capitalism and to lead them on the path to the socialist society. It proclaims the abolition of all the onerous taxes and duties imposed by the former counter-revolutionary rulers and the introduction of a uniform progressive tax. It energetically suppresses all secret plans for disintegration and sabotage by the native and foreign capitalists; it conducts an economic policy advantageous to the working and peasant masses and leading to Socialism.

8. The Chinese Soviet Power pursues the aim of freeing China completely from the yoke of imperialism. It proclaims the complete independence of the Chinese people, the non-recognition of the political and economic privileges of the imperialists in China, the annulment of all unequal treaties concluded between the counter-revolutionary Chinese governments and the imperialists and the cancellation of the foreign loans. The imperialists are forbidden to maintain land, naval and air forces in the Soviet districts; the concession and leased areas of the imperialists in China are unconditionally taken back. The banks, customs houses, railways, shipping companies, mines, factories etc. in the hands of the imperialists are nationalised. For the time being the foreign employers are permitted to conclude a rent agreement for various undertakings and to continue production on condition that they submit completely to the laws of the Soviet government.

9. The Chinese Soviet power exerts all its forces to develop and to secure the workers and peasants revolution until its final victory throughout the whole of China. It declares that participation in the revolutionary class struggle is the duty of all the working masses. Military service will at first be voluntary, but will then be made compulsory. Only the workers, peasants and toiling peasants have the right to possess weapons and to take part in the class war; all counter-revolutionary exploiting elements, however, are completely disarmed.

10. The Chinese Soviet power secures to the workers, peasants and toilers freedom of speech, press, meeting and combination; it is against the democracy of the bourgeoisie and landowners, but for the democracy of the workers and peasants. It destroys the economic and political power of the bourgeoisie and the landowners in order to abolish all oppression of the freedom of the workers and peasants existing during the rule of reaction. The printing works (newspaper offices, publishing houses etc.), meeting halls, and other institutions are placed at the disposal of the workers, peasants and toiling masses for their use in order to secure the material

basis for the realisation of these liberties. On the other hand, all propaganda and activity of the reactionaries and all political freedom of the exploiters are absolutely suppressed under the Soviet Power.

11. The Chinese Soviet power secures the complete emancipation of women, the recognition of their freedom in regard to marriage, the carrying out of various measures for the protection of women in order gradually to create the material basis for the emancipation of women from the slavery of house work and to render possible their participation in social, economic, political and cultural life.

12. The Chinese Soviet power secures to the workers, peasants and toiling masses the right to training and education. The realisation of universal free schooling for the broad masses is commenced so far as the exigencies of the class struggle permit. The Chinese Soviet power will secure the protection of all rights of the youth and draw the youth elements into the political and cultural life in order to develop the new forces of society.

13. The Chinese Soviet power secures the real freedom of religious belief of the workers, peasants and the toiling population. On the basis of separation of religion from the State, no protection or financial aid whatever is granted by the Soviet State to religion. All Soviet citizens have freedom to conduct anti-religious propaganda. The existence of religious institutions of the imperialists can be allowed only on condition that they are subjected to Soviet laws.

14. The Chinese Soviet power recognises the right to self-determination of the national minorities in China and the right of the smaller peoples to separate from China and to form independent States. Thus, for instance, the Mongols, the Mohammedans, Tibetans, Koreans etc. living in China have the complete right to decide for themselves whether they wish to join the Chinese Soviet Union or to separate from China and to form a State of their own. The Chinese Soviet power will aid these national minorities and small nations with all its power to free themselves from the yoke of the imperialists, Kuomintang, militarists, princes, priests, lamas, etc. and to obtain complete independence. Further, the Soviet Power will encourage the culture and language of these peoples.

15. The Chinese Soviet power grants the right to stay in the Soviet territory to all working Chinese and foreign revolutionary fighters who are persecuted on account of their revolutionary activity, and supports them in recuperating their fighting forces.

16. The Chinese Soviet Power allows all toiling foreigners living in the Soviet districts to enjoy all the rights and privileges granted by the Soviet law.

17. The Chinese Soviet power declares that it stands in a common revolutionary front with the world proletariat and the oppressed peoples, and that it regards the country of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet Union, as its firm ally.

The Working Women of Soviet China.

By Tsin Yu (Shanghai).

Before the Soviet Government was organised, the working women lived in inhuman conditions just as in other parts of Kuomintang China. As a result of the backwardness of Chinese economy and the relics of tribal life, working women were not considered as human beings. Legally, the working women had no rights whatever. They had no voting rights and could not be elected; they had no right to inherit or to possess property. If a man killed a woman, he received no punishment. But if a woman killed her husband, she was sentenced to a terrible death. (For example, she was put on a wooden horse and dragged through the streets of the town, nailed to the town wall and left there as a warning example to the people, etc.). Proletarian women had no possibility whatever of receiving any education. As soon as they were able to eat, dress themselves and sleep without help, they were compelled to perform housework. The cruellest thing was the practice of sending them, in most cases at an extremely early age, to other families where they were trained as future brides. The life of such brides was the worst of all for working women. Everyone—old and young, men and women—considered themselves on a higher level than these brides. Everyone could beat

or abuse these brides in training. They worked from morning till night with bitter tears. There were often cases where they were killed. When a girl reached the age of 18 or 19, she was married and ceased to undergo training. However, everyone despised a wife who had previously been in the position of a bride in training, including her husband. After marriage, working women had never a moment of happiness. They were slaves of their husbands and mothers-in-law, and in addition they were compelled to do the housework and look after their children. If the husband died, they were compelled to spend their whole lives as widows, or else they were sold to other husbands as slaves or concubines. This was done by the husband's family. In addition, little girls were often sold as servants or wives. Either of these was merely a variety of slavery.

In the villages which are not under Soviet rule the women work 15—16 hours a day and often more. From the house they hurry to the fields and from the fields they hurry home. They have no idea of the meaning of rest. Women workers in the towns work 13—14 hours a day and receive less wages than men. The wages of men in China are so small that they never have enough to eat. And the situation of women is still worse. Many of the daughters and wives in workers' families are compelled to become prostitutes, and the situation of prostitutes is so bad that it is hard to describe. Thousands of prostitutes in Shanghai stand on both sides of the landing stage. Whether it is raining, hot or cold, they stand there from 7 in the evening till 4 in the morning, seeking clients. If they succeed in attracting anyone to themselves, this person can do what he likes with them. If they do not succeed, their mistress flogs them. After a few months of such a life, they get syphilis or some other venereal disease and die from illness and bad treatment. In many comparatively backward places, and even in some fairly large towns, working girls are compelled to submit to the custom of binding their feet. As a result, their feet become atrophied and it is difficult for them to walk. The question of marriage is decided by the parents. Women are deprived of the right of free choice and are compelled to bear submissively the bad treatment of their husbands as they have no right of divorce. The life of working women and their inhuman treatment are beyond description.

However, in the Soviet districts of China the situation of women has changed radically. The Central Soviet Government and the local Soviets have passed special laws to defend working women. Women have received all legal rights equally with the men. They have votes and can be elected (at the present time women form at least two-fifths of the membership of local Soviets and other organisations). Women have the right to possess property (women and men are equally entitled to receive a share of land and implements). The working day for women and men is established at 8 hours, and the wages of women and men are equal. Women are not given heavy work. Before and after childbirth they receive a two-month vacation with full pay. The selling of women is absolutely forbidden; slavery has been abolished and concubinage and the custom of training brides has been abolished. The questions of marriage and divorce are now settled freely, and neither the family nor outsiders interfere. It is categorically forbidden to beat or illtreat women, including wives. It is also forbidden to bind the feet of girls. Schools have been founded for women, schools for illiterates, supplementary courses, educational courses. Women have the right to study in all schools and to work on all public bodies. The Soviet government seeks to punish all who oppose these laws. Therefore in the Soviet districts of China, women have begun to lead a "human" life. The working women of China who have lived under inhuman conditions for thousands of years have now, under the Soviet government and the revolutionary dictatorship of the workers and peasants, achieved their first victory in the cause of their liberation.

The fact that working women in the Soviet districts were able to obtain this success is not due to chance, as women are the fresh force which is building, strengthening and developing the Soviet power. All these working women are actively taking part in the struggle against imperialism, the Kuomintang, the militarists, the bureaucrats, the landlords, the bourgeoisie and the kulaks. They are taking part in the sanguinary fights with the enemy, in the Red Army and the guerilla bands; organising first aid, laundry, sewing, boot-making and cooking brigades; forming bodies of scouts and transport detachments, etc., to help the workers' and peasants'

army in its fights, to stimulate the courage of their fathers, husbands and brothers. The working women of the Soviet districts on the border of Hupeh-Honan-Anwei fought in the front lines in the battles.

Men who do not take part in the fights, who are not in guerilla bands, detachments of the Red Guards and the Young Guard, and also those who do not take an active part in the work of the various conferences and Soviets, get no food or good treatment from the women at home. The slogan of the working women is now: "Not to marry militarists, bureaucrats, landlords, bourgeois, tukhao, gentry and kulaks". Women think it an honour to marry a member of the Party, YCL'ers, Red Guards and members of the Young Guard. The political level of the working women is rapidly rising. The working women, who were supposed to know nothing, deliver long speeches at big meetings, organise agitprop bands, ask questions such as: what is the II. International and the 2½ International, what is socialism and what is the position and the life of women in socialist society, how do the working women live in the U.S.S.R., when shall we have tractors and when can we collectivise agriculture. The women have a strong interest in political life.

In the heroic struggle of the working women of the Soviet districts, they have already achieved economic, political and property equality with men. Life in Soviet China has opened up for the Chinese working women a bright road to complete freedom. The working women of all China are fighting for the Soviets of China, studying the experience of the struggle of the working women in the Soviet Union and fighting for the socialist future of China.

THE WORLD "DISARMAMENT" CONFERENCE

How the Imperialists Are Preparing for the "Disarmament" Conference.

By E. G.

The nearer the date of the Disarmament Conference approaches, the more actively the imperialist Powers are preparing for it. There is to be seen a really touching unanimity in the capitalist camp. In Washington and in Tokyo, in Paris and in London, in Warsaw and in other capital towns the same views prevail in government circles regarding the questions connected with the convocation of the approaching conference. The same unanimity is also to be observed in the leading bourgeois press of the whole world, which is every day increasing its agitation for more armaments.

The palm in this campaign is carried off by three French newspapers: "Echo de Paris", "Matin" and "Temps". These three papers have published a number of articles in the last few days all devoted to the question of the Disarmament Conference. The "Echo de Paris" published an article by Senator Eckhardt, full of attacks on Germany and urging the necessity of increased armaments by France. The "Matin" published an article by Admiral Docteur, in which the author fiercely attacks the "Italian and German armaments and pretensions which are encouraged by England" and, on the eve of the Disarmament Conference, points to the necessity of carrying out the whole of the French naval programme. The "Temps", finally, publishes an article by its military correspondent, Colonel Reboul, who, of course likewise in connection with the approaching Disarmament Conference, sets forth a comprehensive programme of French war preparations. This programme contemplates various measures for militarising the railways and bridges, and, alongside the military garrisons, the setting up of a whole number of military observation posts for the fight against hostile aircraft.

Thus in France, the approach of the Disarmament Conference serves as a signal for a tremendous chauvinistic campaign, the aim of which is to increase French armaments.

The same picture is to be seen in the United States. In addition to a number of articles in various newspapers, the question of "preparing for the Disarmament Conference" is

specially referred to in the New Year Manifesto of the American Navy League. The League demands the construction of three cruisers and nine destroyers, contained in the naval construction programme for 1931, and in addition a further enlargement of the fleet. A number of American admirals express themselves to the same effect. The interests of the American imperialists in the result of the Disarmament Conference is expressed most plainly in the following words of the head of the fleet, Admiral Muffet: "More money, more ships and more and faster aircraft".

There can be no doubt that this is also the point of view of the rest of the capitalist countries, and even of such small countries as Norway and Sweden. In fact, precisely on the threshold of the year 1932, a programme of fresh armaments was worked out in Norway and in Sweden. Even such a small country as Latvia felt called upon to declare through the mouth of its Minister for Education, Kepinsch, that Latvia cannot under the present conditions lay down its arms.

The American Foreign Political Association published the other day a report on the armed forces of the most important Powers. According to the data contained in this report, which is partly based on information received from the League of Nations, the expenditure of the imperialists for armament purposes has increased uninterruptedly in the last few years. If we take the price index as a basis, we find that since the year 1928/29 the military expenditure of France has increased by 43 per cent., that of the United States by 48 per cent., that of Japan 40 per cent., Italy 25 per cent., and Germany 15 per cent. At the same time, it must be remembered that these figures contained in the budgets do not in any way correspond to the real sums which the capitalist governments are expending in order to increase their military power.

Thus we see that the imperialist Powers are coming to the Disarmament Conference with tremendously increased military forces, with huge military budgets and enormous military reserves; that they by no means intend to agree to disarmament, but on the other hand are using the time up to the meeting of the Conference in feverishly increasing their armed forces.

That is how the imperialists are preparing for the Disarmament Conference, that is how they are preparing for war.

Save the Eight Young Scottsboro Negroes!

Moscow, 6th January 1932.

The Executive Committee of the International Red Aid has issued an appeal to the workers of the world in connection with the hearing of the appeal of the 8 convicted Scottsboro Negroes before the Supreme Court of Alabama on the 18th inst.

The appeal points out that the protest action of the workers prevented the executions last July and declares that a new world-wide action must secure the release of the men who are innocent of the charges against them. It points out that the tactic adopted by American bourgeois class justice is to protect the proceedings and attempt to tire down the protest action.

The appeal reminds the workers of the world that Sacco and Vanzetti were executed after years of legal wranglings, and that Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings are still in gaol on a charge of which they are admittedly innocent.

The new wave of protest must encircle the world, declares the appeal. It must be heard in every town and every village, and particularly amongst the Negro workers of America who are constantly threatened by the type of lynch justice which is now trying to hound the Scottsboro boys to the electric chair. A powerful international drive must secure the release of the convicted boys and deal a heavy blow against race hatred which is fanned by capitalism in its own interests.

The campaign must unite all the oppressed and exploited of the world, and in particular the oppressed Negro peoples of America and Africa, and all other oppressed colonial and semi-colonial peoples, against imperialism. Only a few days remain. Speedy action is necessary. Down with the white terror! Down with bourgeois class and race justice! Down with the imperialist murderers! Long live international working class solidarity!

Lenin - Liebknecht - Luxemburg Campaign

January 15, 1919.

The Thirteenth Anniversary of the Death of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

By Fritz Hecker (Berlin).

On **January 15, 1919**, the German counter-revolution succeeded in killing **Karl Liebknecht** and **Rosa Luxemburg**. For weeks, placards calling for the murder of Karl and Rosa were posted up on the walls and hoardings. The "**Vorwärts**", the organ of the social democratic party of Germany, took an active part in this campaign.

When today, 13 years after that terrible 15th of January, we turn our thoughts back to these two great leaders whom vile murderers hands wrested from us, we must keep in mind what the result of the social democratic policy is at the present time. What has happened to the German workers is not due to chance, but is the consequence of the social democratic policy, and also, it must be admitted, of the political and organisational weaknesses of the revolutionary movement in Germany.

In the Soviet Union the work commenced by Lenin, the work of building up Socialism, is proceeding apace. On the other hand, in Germany, and also in the other capitalist countries there is taking place a steadily increasing process of dissolution of the capitalist system as a result of the crisis. The time is steadily approaching when the question of the way out of the capitalist catastrophe will again be put as in the days of November 1918. It is for us, therefore, to raise the question whether it is the fate of the proletariat to be so defeated owing to the loss of its revolutionary leaders as the German proletariat was defeated after the 15th January 1919, and whether the fact that the Russian revolution is developing victoriously is due to chance, that because the bourgeoisie was not able to kill its leaders as they did Rosa and Karl?

To this question we reply no. The difference in the fate of the revolutionary development in Russia and in Germany is not due to chance. The Russian proletariat had for the victorious development of its revolution two prerequisites which the German proletariat was lacking: these were a **clear insight into the laws of the revolutionary movement and a revolutionary party**. Both these stand to the ever-lasting credit of Lenin. In Germany, the one as well as the other was lacking. This weakness and this lack, the effects of which were so tragic for the German revolution and the German working class, lay in the character of the German Left wing movement in the pre-war period and during the war. These weaknesses and short-comings developed under the leadership of Rosa and Karl; and they still existed in the revolutionary movement in Germany long after the death of these two great leaders. It is true, already at the commencement of the imperialist war, the revolutionary socialists were brought together by Karl and Rosa in the Spartacus League, and at the end of December 1918, under their leadership, the German Communist Party was founded. But it was not until long after the death of Rosa and Karl that the Communist movement of Germany became clear regarding these fundamental questions which the Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Lenin, had solved long before the war and were thereby able successfully to carry out the October revolution.

The greater the tasks which the development of the capitalist crisis confront us with, the more the Communists must strive to become a mass party of the proletariat, the more urgent it is to make clear from the history of the Party the mistakes and failures of Karl and Rosa, to investigate all those weaknesses which obstinately accompanied the revolutionary Lefts in Germany. Under the ideological leadership of Rosa Luxemburg there arose the fundamentally false idea regarding the nature of imperialism, which led to the theory of the mechanical collapse of capitalism. From this again there followed the theory of the spontaneity of the masses, who would wrest themselves from the errors and crimes of the social democratic leaders in order to rally round the

revolutionary leadership. This also was the reason why no steps were taken to found an independent revolutionary party. It was not recognised that the party can be only the advance-guard of the proletariat, its most progressive, energetic and clearest part. These false ideas are connected with other errors of equally great importance, such as the failure to recognise the role of revolutionary violence and the errors regarding the national and the peasant questions.

Thus neither during the war nor at the outbreak of the revolution was the Spartacus League able to make plain to the masses the fundamental questions of the revolutionary struggle. What wonder, then, that the Spartacus League, which did not even wish to be a party, was incapable of exactly formulating the directions and aims of the fights. We are not far wrong when we assert that these shortcomings of the Spartacus League were also largely responsible for the confusion in the Independent Socialist Party, which after the war developed into a real mass party of the workers but did not know how to meet the demands of the situation. If the Spartacus League had possessed revolutionary clearness in regard to all fundamental questions, and if its members had rightly recognised the role of the revolutionary party, then this fact would have played a decisive part in the development of the rank and file of the Independent Socialist Party.

It is thanks to the after-effects of the social democratic traditions in the Communist Party of Germany that such big mistakes were committed in 1921 in the March action and in 1923 in the October movement, and that the Party was long prevented from developing into a real Bolshevik party owing to the actions of a large number of renegades in its ranks. The eradication of all false ideas is indispensably necessary for every Bolshevik Party. Only recently, Comrade Stalin again urgently called attention to this. How particularly necessary this is in Germany is shown by the attempts of the Brandlerists, the socialist labour party and the Urbahns-Trotzkyists to create confusion among the working masses who are becoming revolutionary, by proclaiming the very mistakes and weaknesses of Rosa Luxemburg as the foundation of the political activity of the German proletariat.

It would be a profanation of the two great Dead if we sought to vie with these renegades in conserving their errors. Precisely because their work for the German revolution is sacred to us, we must expose their faults in order that the proletariat shall be preserved from repeating them.

In memory of these two great Dead we pledge ourselves to develop further, in the spirit of Lenin, the Party founded by them. By acting in the spirit of Lenin we show the greatest understanding of the work commenced by the two great leaders of the German proletarian revolution.

Communist Party of Spain Calls for a General Strike.

Madrid, January 10, 1932.

The Communist Party of Spain has addressed a manifesto to the C.N.T. (the syndicalist trade union federation) and to all other organisations based on the principle of the class struggle, calling upon them to carry out a **general strike throughout the whole country on January 25 and 26** for the realisation of the following demands: Dissolution of the Civil Guard, abrogation of the law for the defence of the Republic, against the persecution of the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions, for obligatory unemployment benefit at the cost of the employers and the State, for the distribution of the land among the landless peasants.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

On the Threshold of the Fourth Year of the Five-Year Plan.

Report of the President of the State Planning Commission at the Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union.

By V. Kuibychev.

I. Two Worlds — Two Systems.

The present Session of the Central Executive Committee has to examine and confirm the economic plan for the year which will see the completion of the Five-Year Plan.

We are drafting a tremendous programme for developing the national economy at a time when a serious crisis is raging throughout the world and when the whole capitalist system is in the epoch of decay.

Contrary to the predictions of the bourgeois economists and social democrats, the crisis is developing more and more; it is destroying the productive forces and bringing unbounded misery to the working class.

In the capitalist countries the output of the whole of industry in the year 1931 declined by more than a fourth compared with the year 1929. In a number of countries production declined still more; in Poland, for instance, 28 per cent., in Austria 31 per cent., etc. In the United States the production of the chief branches of industry, for example, pig-iron, has sunk to less than a half compared with the year 1929.

Unemployment is growing; it has assumed proportions hitherto unknown in the history of capitalism. In the most important countries half of the working class is wholly or partially unemployed. The utilisation of fixed capital has reached an exceedingly low level. In the United States, in Great Britain and in Germany, a third to a fourth of the furnaces have been extinguished. In Great Britain, the steel industry is working to only one fifth of capacity, in Germany to less than one half. In the most important capitalist countries the coal-mining industry is working to only 50 per cent. of capacity. In the motor car industry of the United States, one of the best organised branches of industry, the factories are working only 20 per cent. of capacity.

In order to raise prices the capitalist Trusts are destroying huge quantities of goods. In the struggle for higher prices wheat and maize are used to heat locomotive furnaces, coffee is thrown into the sea, milk is poured into the rivers, fruit is left to rot on the trees. Capitalism has gone beyond destroying means of consumption: it is even destroying the means of production. Coffee plantations are ploughed in, cultivated land allowed to lie fallow, etc. In the first place the most important productive force, the working class, is being physically destroyed. Wage reductions, deprivation of unemployment benefit, bad housing conditions, chronic unemployment are actually leading to a degeneration of the working class.

The constantly deepening crisis is more and more spreading the feeling of despair and disbelief in the unshakability of the capitalist system. The capitalist system is now by no means described as the only proper and "natural" order of society. The crisis has put an end to this idea; it has revealed the capitalist system in all its loathsomeness, with all its inner contradictions to the whole world; it has shown how helpless, anarchist and planless this system is.

Very characteristic in this respect is the article by Lord Lothian, who recently visited the Soviet Union along with Bernard Shaw.

Writing in the September number of the English liberal organ "The Contemporary Review", he states:

I recognise that the predictions made by Marx and Lenin regarding the inevitable development of modern society in the West have been fulfilled with the most astonishing exactitude ... A few years ago it was usual to regard the

victory of the Entente in the world war as ushering in the reign of God on earth. Now it is usual to ask: "shall we not experience the ruin of civilisation?" *).

Lord Lothian seeks a way out in a "reform" of the capitalist system. He is of course opposed to revolution, to the abolition of private property, the dictatorship of the proletariat; he is for "improving" capitalism. It is scarcely necessary to prove that all these attempts to "improve" capitalism, to "organise it according to plan" and to "reform" it are doomed to inevitable failure.

What is taking place with us? For three years we have been carrying out the Five-Year Plan.

The tremendous international importance of the Five-Year Plan is indisputable.

The Five-Year Plan, which was received by the capitalist world with hatred, fury and incredulity, became at the same time the embodiment of the hopes of the international working class.

Like all our plans, the Five-Year Plan is a plan of the class struggle, a plan for developing the socialist attack on capitalism. Precisely for this reason the Five-Year Plan, already at the period when it was set up, became the subject of the most fierce political struggles. Precisely for this reason the realisation of the Five-Year Plan is inevitably connected with the growing fight against it of the opportunist elements.

How is the Five-Year Plan being carried out? The decisive and most important factor in the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan is, from the point of view of the relations of the class forces, the laying of the foundations of socialist economy in the year 1931 and the absolute preponderance of the socialist element in our country.

The fact that over sixty per cent. of the peasant farms have taken the path of collectivisation decides, together with the enormous growth of socialist industry, the victory of socialism in our country. When we commenced the Five-Year Plan, agriculture was for the most part split up in small peasant farms and there existed a certain stratum of capitalist kulak elements; when we complete the Five-Year Plan, collectivisation will be as good as completed and as a result the kulaks will be thoroughly shattered as a class.

In fact, in the year 1928 the collective farms embraced only 1.7 per cent. of the peasant farms. In the year 1929 the percentage of farms which had joined the collective farms was 3.9. The year of the great turn led a broad stream of middle peasants into the collective farms: In the year 1930 the percentage of collectivised peasant farms amounted to 23.6. In the year 1931 the overwhelming portion of the small and middle peasants joined the collective farms, whereby the percentage of collectivisation amounted to 62.2. In the year 1928 only 2 per cent. of the area under cultivation belonged to the collective farms. In the year 1931 the collective farms already embraced 79 per cent. of the area cultivated by the peasants, if one includes in this calculation the winter sowings in 1931.

The absolute preponderance of the socialist elements in the country led to a completely new structure of the national income. The share of the socialised sector in the national income amounted in 1931 to 81.5 per cent. These facts regarding the growth of the socialist elements represent the main results of the three years of the Five-Year Plan.

We have achieved these overwhelming results in regard to the advance of socialism above all by forcing the development of heavy industry, the basis of socialism, with Bolshevik tenacity and perseverance.

*) Retranslated from the Russian.

In the sphere of **industrial production** we have had in the last three years an annual increase of from 21 to 24 per cent. This means that in the third year we surpassed the Five-Year Plan by 13 per cent. Heavy industry, however, grew at a much more rapid rate, namely, 24-40 per cent. annually.

Such a growth of industrial production is unthinkable now in any capitalist country and constitutes a record in the history of world industry.

In the development of production, the **naphtha industry** and the **engineering industry** stand at the head, a circumstance which characterises the tremendous process of the technical transformation of the whole national economy. The **electro-technical industry** and the engineering branches of industry as a whole have already carried out the Five-Year Plan.

Tractor-construction exceeded the Five-Year Plan in 1931. The Soviet tractor-building industry, which has been created in the space of two to three years, is now one of the foremost branches in world industry; already in the year 1931 it turns out tractors representing 557,000 horse power, whilst the Five-Year Plan envisaged 550,000 horse-power only in the year 1932/33. The **agricultural machine manufacturing industry** is developing at a rate which exceeds that proposed by the Five-Year Plan.

The **hard-coal industry** also exceeds the proposals of the original Five-Year Plan.

In agriculture the successes of collectivisation are accompanied by a considerable increase of the area under cultivation.

In all we have in three years an increase of 21.7 per cent. in the area under cultivation. In the year 1931 the area under cultivation amounted to 137,500,000 hectares, which is in excess of the proposals of the Five-Year Plan.

The **freight traffic of the railways** has surpassed the figures of the Five-Year Plan. In the year 1931 the freight traffic amounted to 250 million tons, whilst the Five-Year Plan envisaged only 210 million tons for this year.

In the **sphere of labour** we have considerably surpassed the projects of the Five-Year Plan in regard to the number of workers. In this connection it must be mentioned that, as a result of the rapid pace of industrialisation and the fundamental change in the social composition of the village, unemployment was completely liquidated in the Soviet Union in the third year of the Five-Year Plan.

What determined this accelerated realisation of the Five-Year Plan? Before all the enthusiasm of the working class, and the reserves of our socialist planning system—advantages which were particularly noticeable in the carrying out of the plan and rendered possible a considerably more rapid and complete carrying out of the tasks contained in the Five-Year Plan.

The growth in the number of auto tractors and the requirements of our export caused us to accelerate the development of our naphtha industry, which has already in the year 1931 exceeded its Five-Year Plan.

The Central Committee has submitted new, increased tasks for the decisive branches of industry, the smelting and the coal industry.

In carrying out and surpassing the Five-Year Plan we create new centres of industry and realise on a gigantic scale the decisions of the Party regarding the establishment of a second **metallurgical and coal basis**.

The growing requirements of our national economy, the necessity to achieve economic independence of capitalist countries as soon as possible, the necessity to secure the technical basis of collectivisation and technically to transform labour—all this has determined the acceleration of the movement.

II. The Economic Results of the Year 1931.

The most important result of the Five-Year Plan is the successes in the struggle of the working class, numbering millions, to **master technique**. The speech made by Comrade Stalin at the Conference of Economic functionaries marked the commencement of a profound turn on the part of the broad strata of the working masses, the economists, the engineers and technicians.

The Party leads in all technical questions by raising the development of the productive forces to a higher material level consistent with socialist means of production. The development of technical propaganda and of the technical training of the

broad working masses is taking place on an increasingly grandiose scale.

As a result of the three years of the Five-Year Plan, a considerable advance has been made in regard to the technical transformation of national economy.

The results of the Five-Year Plan are characterised by tremendous successes in acquiring the most modern technique of Europe and the United States, in developing new branches of industry, in the development of science and its technical application, in adopting the processes of mass production. Upon this basis considerable advance has been made in **freeing the Soviet Union from dependence on foreign countries**.

Special reference must be made to the new machines and types of equipment introduced in the Soviet Union. This includes in the first place the mastery of complicated machinery and equipment, steam turbines with a capacity of 50,000 kilowatt (Stalin works), electro-turbines with a capacity of 12,000 kilowatts, boilers with a heating surface of 1500 square metres, huge hydro-turbines, and complicated automatic regulators belonging thereto, the mass-production of normal motors of a lighter type etc.

In regard to the smelting industry, in addition to the construction of big furnaces, Martin furnaces, and smithies, mention must be made of the highly valuable steel alloys in the factory of Cheliabinsk (electro-steel); the electro-steel produced by a number of factories; the wrought iron of Ljuberetz, Stalingrad and Kharkov, and finally the construction of the first Soviet bloomings, the thirteenth in the whole world, and Soviet moulding machines.

In the sphere of engineering, mention must be made of the development of the auto-tractor industry.

Of great importance also is the production of mowing and threshing machines and the manufacture of special types of these important harvesting machines.

In addition to tractors and mowing and threshing machines, our industry has this year commenced to produce 70 new types of agricultural machines, tractor-driven machines for grain cultivation and also a number of machines for harvesting technical plants.

In general engineering we have achieved a number of successes in the production of machines working up metals, pumps and compressors boring plants, appliances for the mechanisation of building work, prospecting tools, textile machines, plants for the food industry etc.

In the three years of the Five-Year Plan we have set going a large number of new works. We have built a number of very powerful electric power stations. One of the most important erections under the Five-Year Plan, Dnieprostroy, is being successfully carried out and will commence to supply current in May 1932.

The smelting industry for non-ferrous metals, which was hitherto regarded as one of the weakest points of our national economy, has set going the zinc works in Konstantinovka and Bjelovo; the first departments of the Pishminsk combine, the works in Karsakpaiski, Kalata and Karabasha have also commenced working. We already have the first Soviet aluminium works and are building at a forced pace factories which will make us independent of foreign countries in regard to non-ferrous metals.

With regard to fuel, we have 12 new huge anthracite pits, some of which have a capacity of 1½ million tons; a series of new cracking plants, new pipe lines and naphtha refiners which have commenced working.

It will only be a few days and the automobile works in Nishni-Novgorod will commence working. The agricultural machine works in Rostov, the works in Toretz and Omsk have already commenced operations. The Saratov mowing and threshing machine works and a number of other agricultural machine works will commence working shortly.

Giants like the electro factory in Moscow have sprung up, the electro-mechanical works in Kharkov, the Kharkov locomotive building works have to a large extent been reconstructed. The following have been renovated: the "Profintern" factory in Brjansk, the new colliery works in Sormovo, Kolomna and Podolsk, the central foundries in Moscow and Leningrad, a number of agricultural machine works, electric stations, factories for general and special machine construction.

We are expediting the construction of Uralmashstroy and Stalmashstroy, the Lugansk locomotive works and a number of other factories, which will secure the basis for the development of our smelting industry and our coal industry.

The chemical industry has opened a number of new works; a whole number of sulphuric acid plants are working, we have a potash mine, a phosphorous mine, the super-phosphate factory in Woskressensk.

In regard to the production of building material, a number of new factories have commenced working: five cement factories, three glass factories, over 10 saw mills, 4 paper factories, a large number of brick and limestone works, as well as factories for new building materials.

We have developed great building activity also in the light industry. In the textile industry the following works have been built: "Krasnaya Talka", "Krasny Tkatch", "Krasnoe Snamja", the Leningrad spinning mill, the cotton mill in Ferganskaya, the cotton mills in Aschabad, the cloth factories in Kremenchuk and Tiflis, the Melange combine in Ivano-Vosnessensk, the hosiery works in Vitebsk.

We have some magnificent new works in the leather industry, six tanneries, which will completely free us from the necessity of importing from abroad.

We have commenced to create a big food industry. We have already established a number of preserved-meat combines, big preserving factories, starch and syrup factories (in Lochvitza and Novoselicy); the building of factories in Kirgisia and Siberia is nearing completion.

The enumeration of these new power stations, works, pits and factories is an enumeration of our victories, the concrete proof of the success of the Bolshevik tempo in the industrialisation of our country.

In these three years we have created an enormous new fixed capital. In the year 1929 we added to our industry a new fixed capital of about 1400 million roubles; in the year 1930 about 2,000 million, and in the year 1931 about 3,500 million roubles. Thus in three years we have created 7,000 millions of fixed capital. That is almost double what we had at the beginning of the Five-Year Plan.

We are creating not only new works but also new branches of industry such as never existed in Russia before the revolution. For instance, factories for the production of artificial fibre, synthetic rubber, a number of electro-technical branches of industry aluminium production, potash production, various branches of fine-mechanical production (mass production of watches, clocks, aviation material etc.). We have the possibility of supplying our home textile, footwear and food industry with our own machines.

Nevertheless, our enemies, in spite of these successes, are striving in every way to deny the importance of the victories of the Soviet Union.

In summing up the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan I must emphasise the lagging behind in regard to a part of the qualitative requirements in carrying out the Five-Year Plan, both in regard to the productivity of labour and the reduction of prime costs. Also in regard to the prime costs of building work we have not achieved that which was proposed by the Five-Year Plan. The productivity of labour in industry has increased in three years by 34 per cent. as compared with 110 per cent. laid down in the Five-Year Plan for five years.

The prime costs of industrial production fell 4.2 per cent. in the year 1928/29 compared with 7 per cent. envisaged in the Five-Year Plan. In the 1929/30 the reduction amounted to 6.3 per cent. compared with 7.4 per cent. demanded by the Plan. In the year 1931, instead of the reduction of 7.6 per cent. demanded by the Five-Year Plan, we have to record an increase of 2 per cent. in the prime costs.

Taken altogether, we have in the three years a reduction of the prime costs by 10.7 per cent.; if we include in our calculation the plan for the year 1932, the reduction will amount to 18 per cent., whilst the Five-Year Plan envisages a reduction of the prime costs in five years by 35 per cent.

We see the same thing in regard to the qualitative features of production in the sphere of agriculture and transport. This failure to carry out the qualitative requirements exists whilst the mechanisation of production and technical transformation of work is proceeding more rapidly than was envisaged in the Five-Year Plan.

This circumstance goes to show that the problem of organising work and administration is a central problem. We have all the prerequisites for achieving a rapid tempo in the carrying out of the qualitative requirements.

In general, the results of the year 1931 are characterised by great achievements: capital investments in the entire national economy amounted to 16,000 million roubles. In the year 1931, in industry alone factories and plants were set

going the cost of which amounted to 3,500 million roubles. The production of planned industry surpassed that of the previous year by 20 to 21 per cent.

The number of wage earners in the country increased this year from 14,400,000, to 18,500,000.

But in spite of these tremendous achievements, the tasks of the plan for 1931 were not carried out.

As I have already said, this failure to carry out the plan is due, in the main, to the not quite correct organisation of work. This is the reason why the existing fixed capital is very badly utilised.

The material-technical basis in agriculture was also not sufficiently utilised.

We have also to record an insufficient utilisation of machinery in the smelting industry, which is one of the chief reasons why the smelting industry lags behind this year.

The struggle for the fulfilment of Comrade Stalin's six conditions which set in in the third quarter, and particularly in the fourth, has already achieved serious results.

The carrying out of these conditions had a salutary effect on the work of production and brought about a change in the carrying out of the plan. The circumstance that the Party energetically tackled the questions of organising work and of administration, and also the questions relating to wages, has brought about the progress which we have to record, for instance, in the coal industry. We have so set up the plan for the year 1932 in regard to wages, that the leading branches of the national economy which must be promoted at all cost receive the most favourable conditions.

Further, the reorganisation of the management of production is of importance for the improvement of production. The tremendous and exceedingly centralised economic bodies are not in a position to secure a sufficiently concrete management of the factories, which constitutes one of the main factors in our work, and which decides the fight for the Plan.

As a result of the reorganisation carried out (which however has not yet been concluded by a long way), instead of the 43 economic bodies we have over 80 at the commencement of the new year.

This reorganisation forms the prerequisite for a more rapid development.

III. The Decisive Branches of the Plan for 1932.

We are on the threshold of the year 1932. What are the characteristic features of the plan which is submitted to you for confirmation? The most important feature of this plan is the completion of collectivisation in the year 1932. The percentage of collectivisation is to amount to 72 to 75, that is to say, collectivisation as a whole will be completed, which means that the kulaks will be liquidated as a class.

The second important characteristic feature of the plan for 1932 is the completion of the Five-Year Plan in four years.

The 36 per cent. increase of the output of planned industry means the complete realisation of the proposals of the Five-Year Plan in 1932.

In the year 1932 we shall surpass the Five-Year Plan by 20 per cent. in the output of hard coal (90.5 million tons instead of 75 million tons according to the plan), by 28 per cent. in the output of naphtha (28 million instead of 21.7), by 90 per cent. in the output of copper (100,000 tons instead of 84,700 tons), in machine construction as a whole by 42 to 43 per cent., in electro-technics by 7 to 8 per cent., and in tractor-construction by 47 per cent. (82,000 tractors instead of 55,000).

In spite of the systematic growth from year to year, we nevertheless did not quite carry out the Plan in a number of branches, as for instance, in the textile industry and some other industries.

In the sphere of agriculture, the increase of the sown area in the year 1932 to 141 million hectares means that the Five-Year Plan will be carried out 100 per cent.

In transport, the increase of goods traffic in the year 1932 to 320 million tons means the surpassing of the Five-Year Plan by 13.8 per cent. (according to the Five-Year Plan the goods traffic was to amount to 281 million tons in the years 1932/33).

The year 1932 is the year in which a tremendous quantity of new fixed capital, new factories and pits will commence operations. The difficulties which we encountered in the years 1930 and 1931 in setting going our first giants cause us to devote extraordinary attention to this question and all

problems connected with it, in the first place the question of cadres and the mastery of technique.

Finally the year 1932 is the year of considerable progress on the way to a further improvement of the material and living conditions of the working people, of the growth of light industry, of the improvement of supplies, of increase of municipal enterprise and housing construction, of the development of Soviet trade, of great cultural advance etc.

The year 1932 is the year of the completion of the Five-Year Plan; it must at the same time be the year in which we, with all Bolshevik persistence, exert pressure on the most important branches of national economy. Only then shall we be able completely to carry out the annual plan for the year 1932 and thereby the Five-Year Plan.

What are the decisive links in the chain? They are **coal, metal, machine construction**, especially machines for use in the mining and smelting industry and in **transport**. The maximum energy of the working class must be concentrated on these four links.

a) The Smelting Industry.

We absolutely cannot tolerate in future that the smelting industry lags behind in the development of national economy. You know what difficulties arose in the whole of national economy owing to the low level of the production of metal in the year 1931. There is no branch of the national economy which has not suffered as a result.

The programme of the year 1932 for the iron-smelting industry is a programme of strained activity. We must produce 9 million tons of pig iron compared with 4.9 million tons which was produced in the year 1931. That means in the year 1932, we must double the output. Nevertheless, this programme is absolutely imperative, and the working class, above all the workers in the smelting industry, must consider whether it is not possible to set up a counter-plan for supplying 10 million tons, as the need for metal, the shortage of metal will not be satisfied even by this doubling of production compared with the programme of the year 1931.

In the year 1932 the production of steel must amount to 9.45 million tons as compared with 5.35 million tons this year. The output of pig iron must amount to 6.66 million tons as compared with 4.05 million tons in the year 1931. In addition, the smelting industry has a great task to perform in regard to the production of high quality metals which are necessary for our auto-tractor industry, our engineering industry, turbine construction, etc. The output of high quality metals must be increased to 676,000 tons in the year 1932 as

compared with 200,000 tons in the year 1931. In order to carry out the programme of the iron smelting industry it is necessary to expedite the building of furnaces, both in the new works and in the existing works.

We are investing 1,800 million roubles in the construction of smelting works as compared with 1027 million roubles in the year 1931. The first part of the works of Magnitogorsk, Kusnetzk and Saporoshe will be completed, whereby 520 millions will be invested in these three giants. In the year 1932 we have practically to complete the reconstruction of the South and Ural smelting industry, to expedite the construction of Novotagilsk, Krivojrog and the Asov works, and to commence the construction of the Bajkalsk works.

This tremendous building programme, of course, necessitates a redistribution of all material resources in favour of the iron smelting industry. This programme cannot be carried out without the help of the entire national economy. Therefore, both in regard to machine-construction and the material resources, the human forces and cadres, everything must be centred on carrying out these tasks at all costs. Upon the solution of this task of the smelting industry depends the whole Five-Year Plan, the carrying out of the plan for 1932 and the second Five-Year Plan.

The forced development of the smelting industry imperatively raises the question of the creation of our own machine-construction basis for the smelting industry. In this sphere we must in the future be less dependent upon imports than in any other sphere.

Therefore, it has become the cardinal point of the building plan in the machine-building industry to concentrate investments on the erection of two chief giants, Uralmashstroy and Krammashstroy, which are to supply the smelting industry equipment.

In regard to the organising of work, in regard to wages and also, finally, in regard to supplies, we must devote chief attention to the smelting industry as that branch of industry occupying a privileged position, and concentrate upon it the whole attention of the broad masses of workers.

The erection of dwellings in the districts in which the smelting industry is situated must likewise be greatly increased in order to create constant cadres of workers, in order to combat fluctuation and thereby to be able to increase the productivity of labour. In the coming year, 225 million roubles will be invested in the erection of dwellings for workers in the smelting industry, whereby dwelling accommodation can be supplied for 209,000 persons.

(To be continued.)

Concluding Speech of Comrade V. M. Molotov at the II. Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union.*)

The Soviet Union, the Capitalist World and our Fight for Socialism.

The main figures which characterise our constructive work as a whole in the current year are the following:

The total investment work in the year 1932 has been fixed at 21,000 million roubles. This investment work is divided as follows:

The outgoings for investment work in industry have been fixed at 10,800 million roubles, the outgoings for investment work in agriculture have been fixed at 4,360 million roubles and for the whole of the transport service at 3,330 million roubles. If we take the expenditure on investment work in the sphere of communal economy separately and add to them the expenditure on housing construction we get a very imposing figure.

On housing construction alone 2,892 million roubles will be expended next year.

The expenditure on social-cultural enterprises is even more striking. On education, health and science alone 9,200 million roubles will be expended in 1932.

*) From the concluding Speech of Comrade Molotov we publish the last section.

Our socialist construction is growing from year to year. In the year 1932 this progress will be particularly great and impressive. We can be proud that we are living in a country which is fulfilling this great task of socialist construction. The working class and the masses of collectivised peasants in the villages must make the fulfilment of the big economic tasks of the year 1932—the completion of the Five-Year Plan in four years—a matter of honour. Then, under the leadership of our Party, we shall really accomplish these tasks.

In conjunction with the facts pertaining to socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. next year, I will submit some data on conditions in the capitalist countries. I will not submit any new figures about the economic crisis, about the decrease in production there, and the unemployment. I will present only one example of the decadence of the capitalist organism.

Here are some facts dealing with the expenditures made by the government of the United States in the fight against crime. In the American "Literary Digest" we find that in the fiscal year 1929-30, in the struggle to check crime, over \$1,119,000 was expended. These figures, however, are not final and all-inclusive.

In other words, in one year, 1929-30, the United States spent in its fight against crime over two billion gold roubles. In the same magazine we find that according to the data supplied by the Wickersham Commission, the average cost to American cities in enforcing criminal laws is equivalent to \$5.47 for each man, woman or child.

In other words, in the average American cities, crime punishment and prevention cost about 11 roubles per capita.

These facts regarding the extent of crime in the United States speak for themselves.

Meanwhile the U.S.A. differs from the other capitalist States in this respect only with regards to quantity. A tremendous number of crimes and a growth of criminality in the capitalist countries accompany the development of capitalism, especially under the conditions of the general crisis through which it is passing.

After this it is not surprising that the workers in the capitalist countries are more and more frequently putting to the toiling masses the question of the fundamental crime of present day capitalism, the question whether present day capitalism, with its devastating consequences for the national economy, with millions of unemployed workers, with armies of starving people in the village, has any right to exist. This question naturally arises in the head of the proletarian, who compares the situation in the Soviet Union with that obtaining in the capitalist countries.

Despite all this, capitalism has its defenders in the Kautskys, who are trying to defend the capitalist regime in the name of the social democrats, in the name of the Second International. These defenders of capitalism are the worst enemies of our Soviet Union, where capitalism has been deposed, where the working class is building a socialist commonwealth.

The type of argument used by these enemies is evidenced in Kautsky's book, "Bolshevism at a Deadlock", to which I shall return once more.

I will cite only one example which pointedly characterises the falsity of the entire book, since it deals with a concrete fact which can easily be checked up by any worker in the Soviet Union, or by any worker living outside of the U.S.S.R. I am referring to the passage where Kautsky seeks to show how the seven-hour working day is being carried out in the U.S.S.R. Here is a complete excerpt taken from Kautsky's book:

"When it was introduced, everyone expected that each shift would be composed of a separate and distinct group of workers. For example, where up till now two shifts worked, each for eight hours, the number of workers would be increased one-third so as to supply the third seven-hour shift. Actually nothing of the kind happened. How it was done can be seen from one example, the Naro-Fominsk textile factory:

"In the factory, prior to the introduction of the seven-hour day, there were 6,577 workers employed. During the transition to the seven-hour day, 1,469 workers were added, and together with the new workers taken in on October 1, 1928, the total amounted to 8,046 workers. On October 1, 1929, there were only 7,363 workers and in November only 6,558 workers; that is, a little less than the total number of workers employed before the introduction of the seven-hour working day.

"This fact and many others are given in the official organ of the Supreme Economic Council of National Economy, 'Za Industrializatsiu,' January 31, 1930.

"In other words, it was decided that with the seven-hour shift it would not be necessary to employ more workers than previously, and those who were hired were discharged. Other factories which introduced the seven-hour day later, had taken this experience into consideration and from the very beginning refused to increase the number of workers.

"As a result, the same number of workers now work 21 hours a day instead of 16; that is, each individual

worker works ten and a half hours instead of eight hours. Their slavery increases instead of decreasing." (Laughter.)

And so Kautsky, who was once a fairly good exponent of Marxism, has fallen so low that there are no limits to his lying.

Based on the fact that in one factory, during the change from an eight-hour to a seven-hour day, the increase in the number of workers was somewhat small, and, after a year, even decreased (evidently due to a temporary lack of raw materials and, may be, a shortage of workers themselves), Kautsky comes to the conclusion that we are not changing from an eight-hour day to a seven-hour day, but are introducing a three-shift day instead of a two-shift day, and increasing the number of hours for each worker. Thus, according to Kautsky, the workers in the Naro-Fominsk factory, with the introduction of the seven-hour day, are now working, instead of eight, ten and a half hours a day. And he adds to that: "Their slavery increases instead of decreases."

But the workers of the Naro-Fominsk factory read this, and laugh. Not only they, but all the workers in the U.S.S.R. will laugh. Despite all his lies, Kautsky cannot succeed in obscuring the fact the working day in the U.S.S.R. has been decreased from eight to seven hours in most enterprises. In 1932 it will be introduced universally, except in those plants where the working day is even shorter than seven hours.

However, we are most concerned with the fact that the truth about the U.S.S.R., and primarily the truth about the living conditions of the workers in the U.S.S.R., should be known to our brothers, the proletarians in foreign countries. If they only get to know this truth, capitalism will suffer from it, but socialism will be strengthened on an international scale.

The Kautskys and the other leaders of the social democracy, as Lenin said already more than ten years ago, have become the advance guard of the bourgeois counter-revolution. Under the present conditions, they are the advance guard of the inciters to war against the Soviet Union, they are the instigators of imperialist intervention against our country, against the country of the victorious workers and peasants.

I shall not dwell upon the problems of international politics. Discussions that have taken place here have shown that there is complete unanimity as to our evaluation of the situation and our deductions therefrom.

The growing danger of a new imperialist war, as a result of the crisis, and the growing contradictions in the imperialist camp, and the growing danger of a military intervention against the U.S.S.R., must be fully realised.

An additional proof of our duty to explain to the masses this growing danger of an attack upon the U.S.S.R. can be seen from to-day's statement issued by Tass to our press.

In this report it is stated how a representative of one of the foreign embassies in Moscow attempted to organise a plot to kill the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow. The object of this criminal undertaking is clear. It was aimed to provoke a breach between the U.S.S.R. and Japan as a means of attack upon the U.S.S.R.

I referred already in my report to the existence of systematic provocations on the part of our enemies, aiming at drawing the Soviet Union into war. The attempt made by provocateurs to organise an attack on the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow shows that our enemies will stop at nothing in order to let loose a war, in order to call forth an attack on the Soviet Union.

The successes of socialist construction are a thorn in the flesh of the bourgeoisie. They see in these successes a great danger to capitalism. With all the greater unshakable conviction of the correctness and of the historical importance of our work shall we proceed to the realisation of the economic tasks of the year 1932, to the completion of the Five-Year Plan in four years.

The working class and above all the advanced shock brigades, the whole mass of the working population in town and country, and above all the self-sacrificing participants in socialist competition in the factories and on the collective farms, in the workshops and on the Soviet farms, must proceed unitedly to fulfil the economic plan and then not only its fulfilment will be secured but it will also be surpassed. (Applause.)

The Fourth Year of the Five Year Plan.

By N. Ossinsky (Moscow).

"The third, decisive year" of the five-year plan has come to an end. **The fourth, the crowning year**, is beginning. For, according to Bolshevik dialectical arithmetic, the Five-Year Plan must be and will be accomplished in **four years**. Hitherto this was the general slogan. Now it becomes the concrete, immediate task of the beginning year, it forms part of the operative industrial and financial plans of 1932. It will be supported by the plans from below, it will become **the axle** of socialist competition and shock-brigade work.

In fact, this means that we are completing the transition—in time, and not in space—into a new country, a country different from that in which we were born and grew up, into a country where the foundation of socialism is firmly established, and where on its basis there will rapidly come into being a more and more developed system of socialist economy and social life.

To go on with the journey simile, one must say that it is no less distant and complicated than any "great migration of peoples" that happened in the history of mankind; and its historical results are immeasurably greater. For it means, that over one hundred peoples, who constitute the Union of Social Soviet Republics—among them many nations, who are on the lowest rungs of economic and social development—under the leadership of the proletariat, and in the midst of ruthless class struggle between the workers and the former oppressors, are approaching **socialism**, pointing the way onward to the whole of mankind. Such is the stage, represented by the year 1932, in the history of the whole world.

1932 is the year of the **completion** of a series of magnificent attempts that were developing in the preceding three years, and were given a special impetus in the past year. We do not yet perceive and realize them sufficiently, for the enormous edifice is still surrounded by scaffolding, and its general perspective cannot be taken in directly with the naked eye. Moreover, the changes in the "building area" are exceptionally rapid and varied, so that they cannot be taken in at once. But this is, for instance, what a series of comparisons with the technically advanced bourgeois countries, as well as with pre-war conditions in our own country, show:

In 1931—despite breaks in the first half year—we produced twice as much **coal** as in 1913 (and by 21% more than in 1930). We have outdone France, which occupied fourth place in the world, and have in front of us only the United States, Great Britain and Germany. If one adds up the yield of coal, oil and peat, planned for 1932, it exceeds already the German yield of fuel in the past year.

With regard to **oil**, in 1931, it exceeds the pre-war yield 2½ times. Venezuela is beaten by at least 40%, and in America they already talk of the time when we shall be even with the United States.

Although with regard to **black Metallurgy**, the breaks of the first half year were made good by us later and less adequately than in the coal industry (the delay in setting going **Magnitogorsk** and **Kuznetzk** had something to do with this) it remains a fact that in 1931 the Soviet Union outdid Great Britain in regard to cast iron. **Magnitnaya** and **Kuznetzk** are to be set going in the very beginning of 1932. With regard to black metallurgy, 1932 must be a year of great progress; the Soviet Union must rise from 5 million tons to 9 million. This is guaranteed through the construction and exploitation of 24 new blast furnaces, in addition to the existing 92. Moreover, the new furnaces are so powerful, that their holding capacity is like 74:100 compared with the general holding capacity of all the old furnaces. In substance, the forthcoming year will be a year when the Soviet Union working class **will reap the fruits** of the enormous efforts made in regard to the reconstruction of our metallurgy in 1930-31, and at the same time a year of new enormous investments of capital that pave the way to the further development of the heavy industry. At the same time, 1932 will be for the Soviet Union a year of struggle for the first place regarding metallurgy in Europe, and for the second place, in the world.

Despite considerable efforts on the part of Mr. Leslie Urquhart's agents (prior to their exposure), to retard Soviet production of copper, in this domain the Soviet Union has nevertheless considerably exceeded the pre-war level in 1931, and is exceeding it many times over in 1932. It must be

pointed out that 1932 will be the year when non-ferrous metallurgy and a considerable electro-metallurgy will be properly developed on Soviet territory: Entry into a new phase of metallurgical culture also on this line.

Engineering has enormous successes to its credit in 1931, in regard to the volume of production, as well as in regard to mastering new objects and methods of production. One can say that 1931 was the year when Soviet engineers had already learned how to set going new works and utilize new machinery, when they realized that such a task is not beyond them, when they, so to speak, got rid of novice timidity before the task of mastering foreign technique; more than that: they already felt themselves capable of continuing independently technical production culture that was being transformed into socialist culture. This is probably the most characteristic feature of 1932 in regard to the leaders in the economic and technical domains, and also in regard to the whole mass of the workers. **Comrade Stalin's** urgent appeal to master technique fell on an exceptionally fertile ground, gave a definite form and organised the internally matured progress.

In this connection, one has to point out, by way of illustration, that in regard to the production of **agricultural machinery**, the Soviet Union firmly occupies second place in the world, and has mastered production of new agricultural equipment, adapted to tractor power, that the **electrical industry** has firmly occupied third or fourth place in the world and has become a mature, technically up-to-date branch of industry: 41,000 tractors have been constructed in 1931, instead of the 13,100 in 1930, which entitles the Soviet Union to the second place in the world after the U.S.A.

But, already one need not be ashamed to speak of the place we hold in regard to the production of **motor cars** (though their output is still quite inadequate). It is just in regard to the production of motors that we have outdistanced in 1931 Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Sweden, Switzerland, etc., and are just behind Italy, having still in front of us (in consecutive order) Germany, France and Great Britain. However, the 1932 programme pushes us ahead of Italy and Germany, so that we occupy already third place in Europe, and fifth place in the world, (including into the list also the U.S.A. and Canada).

But, maybe, even this is not the most characteristic and important point, but rather the fact that in 1931 two bloomings were constructed for the first time in the Soviet Union, and the construction of 6 is already planned for 1932; that in 1932, we are undertaking the construction of **nineteen** rolling mills, never produced by us before; that, having made a beginning with the production of hewing machines in 1929, we already turned out 300 in 1931, and propose to turn out 1,000 in 1932; that, having produced the first specimen combines in 1930, we turned out 3,600 in 1931 (we are occupying now already second place in the production of combines), and propose to turn out 22,000 in 1932; that we have learned, on one hand, to manufacture exceptionally light and effective electro-motors, and on the other hand, fine, large turbine-generators of high power (in Kharkov a giant works is springing up now, that will specialize in their production).

In this connection, the power basis of the socialist economy—the power of our electrical stations has made great progress (an advance of 40% in 1931). The power of our electrical stations is now almost four times higher than the pre-war power, and next year, it is expected to exceed it five times and more. Finally, yet one more fruit of long years' endeavour will mature in 1932—the **Dniepr electrical station**, first of all. And do we fully realize that the completion of Dnieprostroi means a thorough change of a whole enormous district, that it means a whole electrical Dniepr, which begins to flow through the conductors, that it means streams of high grade steel and aluminium, the opening of a large water way for shipping, etc? And yet, it is precisely this that will meet our eyes in 1932, when, for us, the scaffolding round the Dnieprostroi will be removed!

Let us also realize what is actually going on in the **agricultural domain**. In 1932, an acreage of 144 million hectares, compared with the pre-war acreage of 114 million; 106,000 tractors on the fields of the Soviet Union already in the Spring of 1931, to which no less than 30,000 have been added since then, our tractor industry being already able to add no less than 16,000 every quarter (last quarter in 1931); 900 million rubles invested in equipment in 1932, whereas, in 1928, all the agricultural machinery was valued at 1,058

million rubles; tenfold production of super-phosphate, compared with the pre-war period, still quite inadequate, and colossally increased in 1932, etc.

Alongside of this, 62% peasant farms are collectivized, and there exists the prospect that in 1932 the percentage will be 75.77 per cent. of the whole acreage already falls to the socialized sector, and in 1932 this will increase to 88 per cent. Endeavours are being made to overcome the deficiencies in the sphere of cattle breeding caused by the resistance of the kulaks to the Socialist advance in the agricultural domain, etc. In 1932, the new collectivized village will be given its final definite form, and by the end of this year, we shall have before us an utterly different type of agriculture and rural life, an utterly different rural population to the one in whose midst we hitherto lived and worked.

But, the towns, too, are also assuming a different aspect; since 1931, they have been rapidly changing. True, this process is still in its initial stages, but considerable progress will be made on this line already in 1932.

Already in 1931, there was considerable alleviation of the difficulties that characterized the 1928-30 period, with regard to the food and supply question. This improvement was, after all, due to the fact that the socialist offensive of the proletariat and poor peasantry, supported by the middle peasants, overcame the resistance of the remnants of the former ruling classes, that the Socialist method of production began to develop on a large scale. The 1932 economic plan provides for a series of measures that will help to overcome these difficulties (through the development of agricultural production, of the food and light industries in general, etc.; it is also proposed to raise wages in accord with the growth of the productivity of labour). There can be hardly any doubt whatever, that 1932, even to a greater extent than 1931, will be the year of improvement in the conditions of the Soviet Union workers, the year when many of the present difficulties will be relegated to the limbo of the past.

1931 was the year when we learned to work and control work in the new way, when Comrade Stalin's six classical conditions were being energetically inculcated into the life of the people—conditions that alone can guarantee the development of the complicated industrial economy of the Socialist epoch, with its millions of collective masters, rapidly and effectiveness being necessary features of this socialist economic development. 1932 must be the year when these conditions are to be fulfilled. This will mean that we are really building up a well-developed system of socialist economy and social life.

1932 is the last year of the struggle for the first Five-Year Plan. Struggle for **metal**, for the reorganisation and reconstruction of **transport**, for the completion of the development of **engineering**,—such are the three "**shock**" points on which attention will be specially concentrated in the new year. The methods of this struggle were already laid down in 1931: Broad development of socialist competition and shock-brigade activity, work for mastery over technique, full application of the "Six Conditions". But just because the fundamental points and fundamental methods have been tested and assimilated, the struggle must be even more energetic and decisive than in the past year, it must produce still better results. Although the task that the Soviet Union set itself for 1932—to raise the standard of industrial production by 37%—is not an easy task, the objective guarantee of its fulfilment is the fact that the ways and methods have been tested, and that there is an accumulation of forces and means created through the efforts of the preceding years. So many new giant "objects", so many sources of productive power have matured and have been set going, or are on the eve of it, that we must only know how to use in a Bolshevist manner what has already been created, or how to rapidly complete what is already begun, in order to guarantee a colossal increase of production.

Before us is one more year of Bolshevist attack, of decisive struggle for the socialist industrialisation of the country. When we shall sum up next year what has been done, out of the removed scaffoldings, on the cleared building sites, there will arise before our eyes, in harmonious perspective, the mighty edifice of the completed Five-Year Plan—a new socialist country, reconstructed by the indomitable will and inexhaustible strength of the proletariat, headed by its Bolshevist vanguard!

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Intensification of the "Class Struggle in Holland.

By Gerard Vanter (Amsterdam).

The attacks of the capitalists on the standard of living of the workers in Holland have increased enormously in the last few weeks. The struggle in the textile and in the cardboard manufacturing industry is still going on and increasing in acuteness, and now the dockworkers, the miners and the seamen, the workers from the Philips radio works, the artificial silk workers, the metal workers etc. are immediately threatened with wage cuts. The same is the case with the workers in the State and municipal undertakings.

There are about 300,000 unemployed, that is 15 per cent. of the Dutch working class. In order to avoid paying unemployment benefit, the bourgeoisie have here and there undertaken work for rendering waste lands cultivatable. The unemployed who are sent to these work colonies lead a life of actual slavery. The spirit of resistance is now beginning to awaken among these workers; strikes have broken out among the workers in East Groningen, who are working in the "hells of Jipsinghuizen". These workers number over 1,000, and their example is being followed by workers in other localities. The bourgeois and social-democratic press are heaping abuse upon the Communists, whom they hold responsible for this movement. The press is particularly indignant because the workers refused to give a hearing to the burgomaster of Delfzijl, and shouted him down. A few weeks ago, in Amsterdam, the unemployed expressed their indignation by refusing in a body to report to the Labour Exchanges. This strike, in which it is true there were revealed many weaknesses and ultra-Left deviations, showed the tremendous resentment of the masses of unemployed.

The situation is likewise becoming increasingly acute in the **Twente textile area**, where 14,000 textile workers are on strike. At first the strike proceeded very quietly. Suddenly, however, the workers demonstrated in thousands in front of the houses of the strike-breakers; windows were broken and a factory owner was pulled off his bicycle. Police reinforcements arrived and the mounted gendarmes then savagely attacked the masses, who however defended themselves with stones and other missiles and conducted a regular street fight against the armed troops of the employers. The police fired wildly at the workers, but owing to the darkness—the street lamps were extinguished everywhere—no workers were hit; some gendarmes and police, however, sustained somewhat serious injuries. A state of siege has now been proclaimed; all demonstrations, collections of money etc. are prohibited. As usual, the social-democratic press condemns the indignation of the fighting workers and defends the police.

The strikers are everywhere beginning to recognise the true role of the reformist leaders and also of the so-called "left" social democrats, who are endeavouring by means of Left phrases to keep the workers away from the Red Trade Union Opposition and the Communist Party. These "Left" leaders addressed an appeal to the treacherous trade union leaders. They wrote in their newspaper:

"Is it not time that the leaders of the Dutch Trade Union Federation went to Twente, called the masses together, fanned the flames of revolt and said what they (the leaders!) intend doing in regard to this great fight?"

For the rest, it is true that the reformist leaders find it a hard job to conceal their treachery from the workers. The social democratic politicians have again exposed themselves by proposing in Rotterdam a wage reduction for municipal workers. There is now great confusion in the social democratic camp. The social democratic central committee reproached their Rotterdam comrades with having acted contrary to the party decisions and committed a breach of discipline. It now transpires, however, that the social democratic party committee has never adopted any decisions against wage cuts, but only decided that the fractions of the municipal councils should not do anything on their own account.

It is not surprising that under these circumstances many workers are having their eyes opened. Many social democratic workers are now coming over to the C.P. of Holland. **The Party has increased the circulation of its press threefold and**

more than doubled its membership. The effect of the economic crisis with its tremendous misery for the working masses is bringing an aggravation of the class struggle also in Holland. Capitalism offers to the workers no other prospect but poverty and misery. All the greater impression is therefore made by the reports of the Dutch workers delegation in the Soviet Union, who in the last few weeks, in many towns, have spoken of their experiences in the Soviet Union before thousands of workers at mass meetings of Friends of the Soviet Union.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

For the Bolshevik Unity of the Party! For a Fierce Struggle against the Groups and the Group Spirit!

Resolution of the Central Committee of the C.P. of France.

During the past two years the objective situation of France has become more favourable for the development of the revolutionary labour movement in general and of the Communist Party in particular.

In spite of this favourable situation the Party has not succeeded in extending its influence, in leading the most important struggles and in consolidating its own organisations. On the contrary, the Central Committee is compelled to record a certain decline of the influence of the Party and of the Party membership.

The Party has not succeeded in weakening the social democracy, this strongest social buttress of the bourgeois dictatorship, in spite of the treachery of the socialist party and the C.G.T., which is becoming more and more cynical.

One of the main causes of these deficiencies of the Party is the fact that for many years there existed in the Party a firm conspirative group which concealed its existence from the C.P. of France and from the Comintern, and which was organised and led by Comrades Barbé, Celor, Lozeray, whilst in addition Comrades Billoux, Guyot, Couteilhas and Galopin belonged to it.

This group consisted mainly of comrades who came from the youth movement, some of whom played a role in the struggle against the opportunist elements right up to the VI. World Congress of the C.I. Since then, however, the group has been working more and more against the Party and against the Communist International.

The leaders of this group were of the opinion that, owing to the fact that French imperialism has been seized by the crisis rather late, there exists no "Left" danger and that only a right danger is threatening the C.P. of France. As a result, they refused to wage a struggle on two fronts. They have not even realised that the "Left deviation" is likewise opportunism, the reverse side of Right opportunism.

Another characteristic feature of the political line of the group was its sectarian orientation, its fear of the masses and its isolation from the masses, its failure to defend the daily interests of the masses and its unwillingness to apply the united front tactics. All these deficiencies led to the Party being isolated from the working class, to the development of opportunism in our Party and of reformism in the trade union movement (minority group).

For two years the group had in its hands all the leading posts of the Party and determined the practical policy of the Party.

Mainly as a result of the existence of this group, the activity of the Party in the struggle against the imperialist war preparations, for the defence of the Soviet Union, for anti-militarist mass work declined. The Party offered very insufficient resistance to the increasing military activity of French imperialism and facilitated the development of the hypocritical "pacifist" campaign which aims at concealing from the French proletarians the threatening war danger against the Soviet Union.

Empty gestures and phrases against the socialist party replaced the actual struggle against this strongest social buttress of French imperialism, as well as the constant application of the united front tactics for drawing the social democratic workers into the struggle.

The sectarian policy conducted by the group within the Party led to a mechanisation of inner-Party life and prevented the development of self-criticism. As a result, the group became the chief hindrance to the mobilising of the Party for the correction of its chief deficiencies.

The mechanical regime within the Party and the opposition to self-criticism considerably facilitated the development of a very dangerous opportunist tendency within the Party, which was expressed in connection with the Parliamentary and department elections, as well as in regard to trade union unity.

These opportunist distortions were further expressed in a tendency towards Parliamentary cretinism, by a pacifist distortion of our struggle against imperialist war, by a weakening of our criticism of the socialist party.

The policy of the group consisted in restricting inner-Party life, preventing self-criticism, choosing comrades for the various Party posts not according to their capacity, their devotion to the Party and the revolution, but according to their spiritual affinity with the group.

On the other hand, the group did not realise the necessity of drawing into the work of the Party those comrades who are closely connected with the masses. The group also sabotaged the instructions issued by the Comintern regarding the training of cadres, although these instructions have been approved by the group.

Although the group bears the main responsibility for the serious condition of the Communist Youth movement, they try to cloak over their degeneration by falsely designating themselves a "youth group".

The group acted in a regular fractional manner, observed a strong discipline, which was opposed to that of the C.I. and of the Party. It thereby succeeded in permeating the whole Party with its sectarian and disastrous policy. For this reason the group bears the main responsibility for the present situation of the Party, for the weak connection with the masses, for the decline in the membership, for the non-realisation of the decisions of the VI. World Congress and the X. and XI. Sessions of the Enlarged E.C.C.I.

But as the Central Committee did not succeed in quickly denouncing and smashing the group, it also bears a share of the responsibility for the present state of affairs.

The Central Committee calls upon the whole Party to wage a fierce struggle on two fronts (Right opportunism and sectarianism), and not to make the least ideological concession to any attempt to revise our line.

Comrades Barbé, Celor, Lozeray and certain other members of the group not only concealed the existence of their group from the Communist International and the Party, but since the Summer of 1931 they conducted a fierce campaign against Comrade Ferrat, who had broken with the group. The C.C. declares that already at that time Comrade Ferrat ought to have exposed the true character of the group.

When the Communist International and the Party revealed the existence of the group, the latter attempted first to deny its existence and when this proved to be impossible, to belittle the significance of its mistakes.

Comrade Guyot helped the C.C. and the C.I. in exposing the group; he has made the first steps in the direction of recognising his mistakes and overcoming them.

The C.C. warns the Party against any tendency to limit the fight against the group to a narrow petty fight by means of simple mechanical organisational measures.

The fight against the group and the group spirit has not come to an end with the enforced capitulation of the leaders of this group. Only by waging a struggle on two fronts, only by persistently overcoming the sectarian tendencies promulgated by the group, will the Party be able to expose and to overcome Right opportunism, which is the main danger in the present period. Without this persistent and systematic struggle we shall not be able to secure the carrying out of the Party line, to vanquish the class enemy, to isolate the socialist party and to lead the mass movement of the proletariat and of the toiling peasantry.

This fight against the group and the group spirit cannot be separated from the tasks confronting the Party at the present time.

The Central Committee emphatically condemns the activity of the group and its members.

In view of the harmful activity of the group, in particular the two-faced policy of their leaders towards the C.P. of France and the C.I., the C.C. resolves:

1. To relieve Comrades Barbé and Celor of their functions as members of the Polit Bureau.

2. Publicly to censure Comrades Barbé, Celor, Lozeray and Billoux.

3. Publicly to censure Comrade Servet on account of his activity in favour of the group and on account of his present attitude.

4. To caution Comrade Couteilhas, who was perhaps too young to recognise clearly the full significance of the mistake he committed.

5. To remove Comrade Celor from his post as representative of the C.P. of France in the E.C.C.I.

6. To approve the decisions of the Presidium and the E.C. of the C.I. adopted on the basis of the proposals of the Polit-Bureau of the C.P. of France, namely

a) to remove Comrade Celor from his post as candidate of the Polit-Secretariat of the E.C.C.I.;

b) to remove Comrade Barbé from his post as member of the Presidium, and Comrade Celor from his post as candidate of the Presidium of the C.I.;

c) to approve the public reprimand to Comrade Rolland, who is in sympathy with the group, given by the nucleus and the Committee of the 18th sub-district of the Paris organisation.

* * *

At a moment when the excitement among the working masses is growing, when big class struggles are being prepared in an atmosphere of a military attack against the Soviet Union, at a moment when the socialist party is displaying increased activity, the Central Committee issues an urgent appeal to the whole Party to eradicate our weaknesses as rapidly as possible, to liquidate the harmful group methods and to consolidate the Party on the basis of the present political line, which is in accordance with the decisions of the C.I. This is the only path by which the Party can rise to the height of the difficult tasks confronting it.

Paris, 4th December 1931.

The Central Committee of the C.P. of France.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

The National Government in Britain and Colonial Oppression.

By J. Shields (London).

Ever since the formation of the National Government in Great Britain, the unceasing attacks and persecution against the workers in Britain itself have been accompanied by widespread application of the most ruthless terror and suppressive measures against the workers and peasants in the colonies and throughout the British Empire.

Brutal shootings, arrests, imprisonments, deportations, etc., have become the order of the day. By these means the bourgeoisie is seeking to crush the growing revolt and force down the masses to a lower level of existence.

In **India** the most incredible terrorism is being applied by the government against the workers and peasants on a wide scale. In rapid succession during the past few weeks, a whole series of drastic ordinances have been brought into operation, the provisions of which are being put into effect by the forces of the armed police and military.

In **Bengal**, the **United Provinces**, and the **North West Frontier Province**, a crushing drive has been launched against the Indian masses. Martial law rules, special tribunals have been appointed with powers to pass the death penalty, magistrates have been given extraordinary powers, organisations have been proclaimed, and the police and troops have been given a free hand to shoot, arrest, etc., as they think fit.

Another brutal massacre along the lines of Amritsar has been perpetrated in the North West Frontier Province resulting in the killing of 16 members of the Red Shirt Movement and the wounding of over 50 others. Peshawar and the surrounding district is groaning under a reign of armed military terrorism. Even according to official admissions the number of those arrested in the Province already totals over 1200. Many of these have been tried on the spot and given heavy sentences, others have been deported from the area.

In the United Provinces where the **no rent movement** has become widespread, and in Bengal, troops and police are continually engaged in village raids, house to house searches, etc., for the purpose of rounding-up "suspects".

The terrible repressive measures have not succeeded in destroying the revolutionary ferment but have resulted in intensifying the hatred of the Indian masses against British imperialism. As the economic and agrarian crisis sharpens the revolt of the Indian workers and peasants grows, and with it increasing mass disillusionment in Gandhi and the reactionary congress leaders who are striving to restrict and restrain the revolutionary tide.

As in India, so also in other parts of the empire, terrorist measures have been increasingly applied against the workers and peasants.

With the adoption of the Cosgrave Coercion Act, **Ireland** has been placed under the heel of unbridled oppression. The Revolutionary Workers Groups, republican organisations and other bodies have been banned in the Irish Free State. A strict prohibition of the working class and republican press is being enforced, and the administration of "justice" has been concentrated in the hands of the Military Tribunal which sits in secret with complete power to pass any sentence against political prisoners.

Already a number of prisoners have had sentence passed upon them. In the case of the brothers Gilmore who were charged with being members of the Republican Army, each of the accused were sentenced to five years imprisonment. No appeal against the Military Tribunal's decisions is permitted, and only heavily censored press reports give an inkling of the "frame-up" character of the whole of the "trial" proceedings.

It is in this atmosphere that a "democratic" general election will be staged in the Irish Free State in February, with candidates from the Revolutionary Groups and other banned bodies being absolutely prohibited from standing.

In **Cyprus**, the crushing burdens placed on the shoulders of the population finally led to a revolt against British rule on October 23rd of last year.

The insurgent masses of Cyprus were under the dictatorship exercised by the British governor, Sir Reginald Storrs, who had further added to the prevailing poverty and misery by imposing heavy new taxation and tariffs.

Big mass demonstrations took place on the streets of the towns, some government buildings were seized and the house of the governor was burned.

British troops, warships, aeroplanes, etc., were hurried to the spot to drown the revolt in blood. The troops fired upon the crowds and took a toll of killed and wounded.

In **Canada** the persecution of the working class movement has become more intense. There the Communist Party has been declared illegal and its leaders have been convicted and sentenced to 5 years in prison. Hired thugs are being used to assist the police in breaking up workers demonstrations and attempting to drown the cries of the starving unemployed who are fighting for relief.

A similar development is being witnessed in **Australia** where a fierce campaign against the communists is in full swing, fascists have been organised in gangs to attack workers meetings, and as part of the drive towards endeavouring to force the Communist Party into illegality a bitter press campaign and manufactured "bomb outrages" have been got up.

All these events make it clear that British imperialism is compelled to have recourse to increasing violence and the more open use of its class dictatorship in order to hold down the masses within its possessions.

The happening in India, in Burma where over 6000 have been penned into jail, in Canada and elsewhere, are a warning to the British working class of what will happen in Britain itself ere long unless the fight against the National Government is rapidly intensified and developed on the widest possible scale.

It is the task of the working class of Britain to link up their struggle with that of the oppressed colonial toilers and make common cause and common solidarity in the fight against the common enemy.

This can be done by connecting up the fight against the wage cutting and starvation offensive of British capitalism with the fight against British imperialism as a whole, supporting the fight of the oppressed colonial workers and peasants and raising an energetic campaign for the withdrawal of all British troops from the colonies.

The Situation in Indonesia.

By Musso.

The economic crisis in Indonesia is raging with no less severity and disastrous consequences than in the other colonial countries. In order to carry out their intensified attack upon the working masses, the bourgeoisie are not content with the former soft-handed Governor General **De Graeff**, the establisher of the penal settlement of Boven Digul in New Guinea, where the Communists are at the mercy of the cannibal Papuans and also fall victims to the terrible black fever. This Governor general de Graeff, whose hands are stained with the blood of Communists, is regarded to-day, in a time of acute crisis, as a benefactor to the native peoples, and therefore a much stronger man, one more fit to carry out the present reign of terror of the Dutch bourgeoisie, had to be put in his place. With regard to the choice of his successor, **Deterting** and **Colijn** have much more to say than the Dutch Parliament. **Jonkheer de Jong**, Deterting's right hand man, is chosen. As Deterting's agent he will certainly pay attention to the oilfields of Indonesia, which will play an important role during the coming war either against the U.S.S.R. or between the imperialist Powers themselves.

De Jong set to work immediately after his arrival in Indonesia. The economy regime was rendered more drastic. The 5 per cent. cut in the wages of the State employees was increased to 10 per cent. All outgoings by the State have been cut down by at least 25 per cent. Even the miserable budget for the education of the native population was decreased by several million guilders. Subsidies to private native educational institutions were stopped.

But in spite of these drastic economy measures, the general situation in Indonesia is developing from bad to worse. In the period from January to August 1931 imports to Indonesia amounted to 1,519,299 tons as compared with 2,052,800 tons in the previous year. The exports amounted to 5,400,700 tons as compared with 6,467,000 tons in 1930. In addition, in many parts of Java, particularly in the West, there prevailed a severe food shortage, due to the failure of the rice crop caused by the drought during June and July.

As a means of economising, the private capitalist undertakings are employing a method, introduced by the Good year Company, of laying off their workers for two or three weeks. There is talk of this system also being applied to State employees.

The conditions of labour, already bad, are becoming worse as the crisis increases. The workers on plantations and in factories in many cases receive no wages for months and in

some cases are paid in kind. In order to intimidate the masses, the new Governor General caused seven people, who were suspected of being Communists, to be banished to Boven Digul. The Central Committee of the European Teachers' Union was summoned before the court, because in its organ, "The School", it contained an article against the wage cuts. The author of the article was threatened with dismissal. In Soerabaya, the editorial board of the social democratic organ was brought before the Court simply because the paper published an article explaining the impossibility of the introduction of wage cuts during the present period.

The new Governor General differs from his predecessor in that he does not make any promises to the Left national reformist phrase mongers. He openly demonstrated that his military and police forces are strong enough to suppress any opposition from political parties.

The servility of the national reformist leaders in Indonesia already surpasses that of their colleagues in China and India. Even the "Lefts" have already openly stated that the freedom of Indonesia must not be obtained by violent means. The Sukarne group, the national reformist Lefts in Indonesia, is much more servile towards the imperialists than the Nehru clique in India and the Wan Chin wei crowd in China.

It is perfectly obvious that the only true leader of the fighting masses in Indonesia is the Communist Party. The national reformist leaders and also the new Governor General are quite aware of this fact.

In no country has Communist activity to encounter such difficulties as in Indonesia. Now, when the Soviet movement in China is becoming continually stronger and is also having an effect in Indonesia, the Dutch bourgeoisie openly strengthened the bloc with French imperialism in order the more effectively to avert the Soviet danger. This is expressed by the visit of the French Colonial Minister **Renaud** to Indonesia last Autumn in order to discuss common methods in the fight against Communism and against the Soviet Union.

The absence of a Communist Party experienced in illegal activity, is one of the main reasons why the proletariat and the broad masses of the poor peasants are unable to offer effective resistance to the ruthless attack of the bourgeoisie. There are indications, however, that Communists or groups of sympathisers are carrying on revolutionary work; but that does not suffice to give a proper answer to the terrorist regime of the present Governor General. The only means whereby the Indonesian masses will be enabled to fight effectively against all exploitation and above all to prevent the Dutch bourgeoisie from participating in the war against the workers fatherland, is the Bolshevik re-building of the Communist Party of Indonesia.

In the R. I. L. U.

The VIII. Session of the Central Council of the Red International of Labour Unions.

Concluding Speech by Comrade Losovsky.

Comrade **Losovsky**, having remarked upon, in his concluding speech, the number of new and most important events in world politics, which took place only during the last week, passed on to a review of the most important problems which have been raised in the discussion at the Plenum of the Council and to a summary of the valuable experience which the delegates have brought forward in their speeches at the session of the Central Council.

First of all in regard to the lessons and peculiarities of economic struggles in the present phase. Spontaneity still predominates in the economic struggle. The independent leadership of the struggle is only carried out in individual countries and very seldom. Our sections in a number of countries are still badly connected with the factories, are but little interested in facts, which, from their point of view, are small, but which, often deeply agitate the working mass. The programmes of demands are frequently worked out without any knowledge of the real needs of the workers. We badly prepare for strikes and badly resist the attacks of the reformists and they choose the moment for our movements. We still under-

rate and even do not understand the importance of partial struggles, abandoning it in the name of the general strike, a position which is wrong and harmful, since it is only from the experience of partial struggles that wider movements develop. With this, particular attention must be devoted, when preparing strikes, to those categories of workers, who play a decisive part in the given industry.

The experiences of the strike struggles are witness of the tremendous activity of women even in countries of white terror and fascism. In **Italy**, for instance, 80% of the strikes were strikes of women workers. And yet, we still underrate the role of the women in the strike movement up to the present. The same must be said of the youth: its role in the strike struggles is growing, but we have quite insufficiently developed our work among the youth.

It is not our point of view that every strike, regardless of its occasion, place and time, is a blessing. We must always know at the declaration of a strike—why, on what basis and in the name of which demands the strike was declared. May a minority declare a strike? This is possible in those cases

and in countries of white terror, when the minority is sufficiently sensitive to the interests of the masses quite clearly to catch the mood of the majority.

One of the most important problems of the revolutionary T.U. movement is the question of combining the legal and illegal possibility of work of our trade union sections and groups in the factories. These trade union sections are under the constant surveillance of the employers, socialdemocrats and the spies. It is necessary so to combine the legal and illegal work of our body of militants, so as to save it from destruction.

The fear of strikes predominates with us in the domain of the strike struggle. We must fight against this with all energy.

Experience has shown how closely the economic struggle is intertwined with the political, and this problem is now sharper than ever before. This is proved by the experience of the strike struggle in China, Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, where as a result of the shooting of workers' demonstrations a number of political strikes broke out, which compelled the social-democratic Minister to renounce his own decree.

The general conclusion from the economic struggle for the past 15 months is as follows: there have been mistakes, there have been shortcomings, but all the same what great heroism and self-sacrifice have been displayed by the working men and working women and the proletarian youth in China, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, U.S.A., and in other countries in the battles with the class enemy! It remains for us to develop a still more energetic campaign against the reformists, who are trying to deflect the masses from their urgent interests and from the struggle for their interests. In connection with this the work within the reformist unions still remains of the greatest importance, and we go there so as to wrest the workers from the clutches of the strikebreaking apparatus. Although we have spoken of this work at all the Congresses and Plenums, we must, however, remind our comrades of this again and again. The work within the reformist trade unions must not be isolated from the whole system of our work in the masses. To work within the union, outside the union, to form strong R.T.U.O.'s and unite within them both the organised and the unorganised, to lead independently the economic struggles, so as to remove from the field of the class struggle the reformist trade union centres and their organisations,—this is the purpose for which we work within the reformist unions. This work must be strengthened. In breaking the reformist apparatus and in weakening its local organisations, we must, in countries with a split trade union movement, transfer the workers into our unions.

Under what conditions shall we form new unions? These unions may be formed both during and before strikes provided there is a mass movement. Everything depends upon the peculiarities of a given concrete situation in a given country. The chief task, as was clearly formulated also at the XIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., is in the strengthening of the independent revolutionary T.U. movement at the expense of the reformist and in the process of the mass movement of the proletariat; the R.T.U.O. and the independent revolutionary trade unions must be transformed into real mass organisations, capable in practice to prepare and to head the economic struggles of the proletariat. But our sections do not yet understand the whole importance of the development of the independent revolutionary trade union movement. It is true that in this domain, for instance in Germany, we have considerable achievements but these are not yet sufficient.

The work in the colonies. This problem we look upon as a part of the general problem with which we are faced. We must doubly intensify the struggle against social imperialism, the odious nature of which has displayed itself with special clearness in connection with the events in Manchuria. The revolutionary T.U. movement must devote particular attention to rendering real assistance to the labour movement in the colonies and to explaining the closest dependence of the fate of the workers in the imperialist countries upon the fate of the workers in colonial countries.

The question of the struggle against fascism, which was touched upon in the discussion, deserves serious attention. We must, to our regret, state there are as yet not a few workers within the fascist unions. The winning of the workers in the fascist organisations is of great importance. Thanks to ener-

getic work we are succeeding in this, as yet only partly, in Germany. For this there is also the soil in Italy, where during strikes, the workers from the fascist unions and the Fascist Party are even in the vanguard of the strike struggle. It is necessary therefore for us, energetically to penetrate into the fascist unions and there to carry on our work.

Dwelling specially upon the position in France and England, Comrade Losovsky said:

The recent VIth Congress of the C.G.T.U. was, on the whole, a positive stage in the development and gathering of our forces in France. Its service consists particularly in this, that it smashed the minoritarians. But there was no serious self-criticism at the Congress and a number of the most important problems (the economic struggle, organisational questions), was considered by it with extreme haste. Untrue positions are still taken up on a number of the most important problems. Thus, a number of alarming phenomena are to be observed in the unemployed movement, where we meet with such inadmissible formulations, as the one that the improvement in the conditions of the unemployed is a matter for the unemployed themselves. In the domain of the united front, it may be noted that the formation of unity committees proceeds spontaneously. The question of the formation of rank-and-file organs in the factories has not yet been solved. It is necessary to devote great attention to the problem of foreign labour in France.

Comrade Losovsky subjected the condition in the **Minority Movement in Great Britain** to a detailed analysis. Comrade Losovsky decisively rejected the declaration of the British delegate Comrade Pollitt, that the R.I.L.U. not only did not accord assistance to the Minority Movement, but did not assist the work of the latter within the reformist trade unions. Comrade Losovsky reminded the Plenum that the 5th Congress, besides a general resolution on this question, adopted also a special resolution for Great Britain, which comprehensively dealt with conditions and the problems of the Minority Movement and the necessity of working within the trade unions. But the trouble was that the M.M. not only did not fulfil this resolution but did not even publish it during the course of 4 months; and when finally, after insistent demands, the resolution was at last published, this was done so unsuccessfully (in parts and during a long period), that the very resolution could pass unnoticed for the working masses.

In conclusion Comrade Losovsky spoke of the important role which could be played in the economic struggles by such auxiliary organisations as the Sport International, the Workers' International Relief, M.O.P.R. (Red Aid), and others. Comrade Losovsky spoke also of such organisations as the International Workers Theatre and the International Association of Proletarian Writers, the collaboration of which in the struggle of the working class may be of a great importance.

The speaker concluded by an appeal for the exact fulfilment of the decisions of the R.I.L.U. and the testament of Lenin for the international labour movement. Under the banners of Communism and Leninism the sections of the R.I.L.U. will win in their struggle the final victory over the class enemy of the International Proletariat.

Capitalism in the Land of Plenty.

New York, 27th December 1931.

The capitalists of the United States are engaged in destroying tremendous quantities of goods, and particularly foodstuffs, milk, vegetables and fruit, in order to keep up prices. The big milk combines are pouring hundreds of thousands of gallons of milk into the rivers rather than sell it at lower prices or give it to the unemployed. A little while ago a milk combine in Oakland poured no less than one hundred thousand gallons into the river. At Ketchikan, Alaska a salmon tinning firm destroyed 40,000 salmon in order to maintain prices for tinned salmon. In Los Angeles (California) vegetable firms have destroyed 120 waggons of cabbages sooner than sell them at low prices or give them away. Enormous quantities of peaches, apples and other fruit are being left to rot on the trees. In one district alone 30,000 chicks were deliberately burned by poultry farmers in order to maintain poultry prices.