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Six Weeks of the Indian "Round Table Conference".

By V. Chattopadhyaya.

The British Imperialist Press, that has for weeks been devoting long columns to the sayings and doings of the Indian princely and non-princely lackeys assembled in London for the "Round Table Conference", announces that His Highness the Aga Khan "had to leave as he is taking a four days' Christmas break in Paris after six or seven weeks of constant application to the work of the Conference", and that his Highness the Maharaja of Patiala after "six weeks of hard work" has gone to Budapest as the guest of Horthy, from whom he will undoubtedly acquire knowledge that will be useful in the near future in the torture and massacre of the revolutionary Indian workers and peasants. Before they return to their labours in London with fresh mental energy it might be useful to sum up the main results of the "hard work" they and the other lackeys have done during the last six weeks under the direction of that shameless imperialist agent, the social democrat Ramsay MacDonald.

From the point of view of attainment of imperialist aims

the Conference has been well staged and has achieved considerable success. The two main objects to be achieved by British imperialism are, firstly, the creation of constitutional and administrative machinery to hold in check the only real internal enemy of imperialism — the Indian workers and peasants — and to this end, to satisfy the anti-national demands of various conflicting social, religious, sectarian and racial groups so as to perpetuate their differences and bind them more closely to the machinery of imperialist exploitation; and, secondly, to organise the resources of India and Burma for war preparations against the only anti-imperialist State, the Soviet Union, and against the growing power of the revolutionary workers and peasants of China.

These objects are being steadily kept in view and the initiative in all questions has remained in the hands of British imperialism. Outwardly, every attempt has been made to let the Indian princes and "leaders" talk themselves out and believe that they are exercising an influence upon the negotiations,

The fact that the Conference is being held in London, away from the immediate atmosphere of mass revolt and mass pressure in India; that British interests are being represented by the delegates of all the three capitalist-imperialist parties so as to let the Indians feel that they are negotiating with a united Britain; that the Conference was opened by the King so as to make these Indian toadies still more servile by enabling them to revel in a dazzling "historic" ceremony of boot-licking; that the Indian "delegates" are being feted and banquetted, officially and unofficially by the I.L.P. Secretary of State for India and a number of aristocratic hosts and hostesses who thoroughly understand the subtleties of social intercourse and feminine influence in the business of imperialist domination; — all these facts have produced the necessary atmosphere for the acceptance of the carefully-laid plans of the imperialist masters. Leaders like Sapru and Jayakar, who had come fresh from negotiations with the imprisoned Congress leaders, repeated at the outset the Congress formula of "Dominion Status with safeguards for the transitional period", but there is now no further talk of Dominion Status. The imperialists wisely began the Conference with a four-days' debate on the question of whether a federal or a unitary system of government were best suited for India—and the demand for Dominion Status timidly put forward by a number of "progressive" Indians mainly to satisfy Congress opinion at home, was met by a categorical statement by Lord Reading, ex-Viceroy of India, that "it is idle to say that at this moment there could be anything like equality of status—that is, constitutional status—in India with the Dominions", while the cunning MacDonald declared in a speech full of sanctimonious hypocrisy that the very fact that they were all assembled together at a round table was a "recognition of status that can never be departed from". No Indian left the hall although many had declared that they had come for nothing less than Dominion Status.

During the four days of speech-making that gave the Indians the opportunity of being in the limelight for a few days, there were two characteristic tendencies that deserve notice. Firstly, a number of "leaders" were conscious that they were "traitors" and that they had come to London carrying out dirty work. Sapru declared: "We have come here across the seas in the midst of the gibes and ridicule of our own countrymen. We have been already described in our country as traitors to the cause." Dr. Moonje, leader of the orthodox Hindu Mahasabha, said that he had come in spite of "the assertion in private and in public that he is a traitor who goes to the Round Table Conference". The Sikh representative, Sardar Ujjal Singh, said that they had "staked their reputation in the eyes of our fellow-countrymen" and that "we cannot—we dare not—go back to India without a satisfactory solution".

But the most remarkable admission of treachery comes from the Muslim leader, **Manlana Mokammed Ali**, who is despised throughout the Islamic world for his change of face. He said: "From a rebel against the Government, I have become a traitor to my country, and I am now working with the Government. I say that I can work even with the devil, if it is to be, like this work, in the cause of God!"

The second characteristic of speeches was that even those who wanted Dominion Status did so in order to protect British capital, to preserve the Empire and to fight the battles of British imperialism. **Jayakar**, who pretended to speak for Young India, declared: "If India were given Dominion Status today, in the course of a few months the cry for independence would die of itself" and he added that "India was quite capable of furnishing the Empire, if ever the time comes, with all the fighting material she may want". (In other words against the Soviet Union.) He gave the assurance that there would not be "any kind of inroad upon the vested rights of the commercial classes".

The main work of the Conference is being carried out through committees, each committee representing an issue of paramount imperialist importance. The Federal Relations Committee, the Burma Committee, the North-West Frontier Committee, the Defence Committee, the Minorities Committee—these show at once the imperialist aims.

Before the **Federal Relations Committee** began work, the question of the separation of Burma was taken up and decided in order to remove that country from the discussions of the Conference. For military reasons—as a land, naval and air-

base,—for the organisation of war on the Burma-Chinese frontier, and for commercial reasons in the interests of British shipping and oil capital and of British heavy industry, British imperialism resolved to separate Burma administratively. The Burmese sent to the Conference do not represent any Burmese mass organisations, but only the so-called People's Party created by the Government. The Grand Council of All-Burmese Associations has protested in a long memorandum and numbers of Burmese have protested by telegram and written memoranda. A notable document has just been issued by Burmese in London exposing the imperialist manoeuvres involved in the separation of Burma. But the question was arbitrarily decided without discussion, and **Earl Russell**, presiding over the Burma Committee, categorically "reminded his colleagues at the outset that the question whether or not Burma should be separated from India did not arise", but that they were there "to consider the nature of the conditions of such severance".

Originally the question arose whether Burma and India should be under a unified military control, but **Sir William Birdwood** the Commander-in-Chief, declared in favour of a separate "defence" organisation for Burma. The Burmese insist on a declaration that separation shall be accompanied by a declaration that Burma shall receive "Dominion Status", but the Committee "recognised that the Government would no doubt wish to preserve an open mind in regard to the nature of the future Constitution of Burma".

Having got Burma out of the way, the question of the **Indian Constitution** was taken up and the basis of discussion was provided by a memorandum drawn up by **Lord Sankey**. There was a unanimous declaration in favour of a unitary federal form of Government for all India and the new element in the situation — not foreseen in the Simon Report nor in the Government of India's Dispatch, nevertheless deliberately brought about by British imperialism — was the adherence of the Princes to the idea of immediate participation in an All-India-Federation. The Social Democrat **Ramsay MacDonald** stated in admiration that "the declaration of the Princes had revolutionised the situation".

The Federal Relations Committee has published its preliminary proposals with regard to the Constitution, the main points agreed upon being the following: The Imperialist State is to be re-formed and re-named. Instead of British India with its various provinces and the few hundred Indian States, there is to be a Federal Union in which the component parts shall be the federating provinces of British India, and such Indian States or groups of States as may enter the Federation. It must be remarked that the States are not obliged to enter the Federation, and that "the army, foreign affairs, political charges" will be reserved to the Crown and will not come within the jurisdiction of the Federal Legislature. We shall therefore have three elements in the Federal Government: firstly, the Crown, i. e. the direct interests of British imperialism, such as the army and foreign affairs; secondly, the Indian Princes jointly and severally, and thirdly, the bourgeoisie and landowners of British India.

The **Indian Provinces** of which a few more may be expected by the elevation of Sind, Orissa and the N. W. frontier province to the status of provinces, will receive full autonomy including the control of the police and of finance, but the Governors are to have an absolute power of veto. The question at issue now at the Conference is how far the Central Federal Executive is to be made responsible to the Legislature. There is likely to be a system of Jyarchy introduced at the Centre, so as to keep the army and foreign relations out of Indian hands, but owing to the fact that the princes will be in the Government, an adjustment is possible without endangering British imperialist domination.

The entry of the princes into the Federal Legislature, which is to have two Houses, — an Upper House called the **Senate** and a Lower House called the **House of Representatives** — will bring in an extraordinarily strong reactionary majority. As against the fifteen or sixteen provinces there will be hundreds of States.

In this connection it is important to note the demand made by a smaller Chief (Chief of Sangli) undoubtedly at the instigation of the imperialists, that "the claims of all States regardless of size shall receive due recognition".

We can easily foresee what "legislation" will be brought in by the new "Federation" regarding the workers and peasants and what steps will be taken to organise the war against the Soviet Union.

The "enormous difficulties" of granting "responsible self-government" to India are being deliberately illustrated by the conflict that has been taking place between the Muslims and the Hindus at the Conference. Ramsay MacDonald has been unsuccessfully playing the role of conciliator, but the Muslims insist on separate electorates. Imperialism insists also on separate electorates in order to keep these religious communities at loggerheads. No agreement has yet been arrived at. But the Hindu-Muslim question does not exist outside the ranks of the job-hunters. The workers and peasants are united in their economic and political demands, and so soon as they free themselves completely from the "guidance" of their bourgeois and petty bourgeois leaders, the whole "Federal Union" of the imperialists and their agents will be annihilated and the true **Federal Republic of the Workers and Peasants** established.

The Treachery of the II. International in India.

From the „Pravda“ 21st December 1930.

H. N. Brailsford, a prominent member of the British Independent Labour Party and one of the ideologists of the "Left" wing of British social imperialism, is touring India and preaching to the Indian workers, reason, moderation and reformism in the political and economic fight.

When the flames of the revolution rose in China and the red Soviet flag was unfurled in the South of China, the II. International called up their comrade Vandervelde to support the Kuomintang authorities.

The revolutionary wave is now rising in India; the pressure of the masses has compelled even the national reformists to declare a general strike of the railway workers. The slogan of general strike is gaining popularity among the working masses. The peasantry is being drawn into the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution.

The "Round Table Conference", at which the National Congress leaders are bargaining with English imperialism over the price of capitulation, has arrived at an impasse. In India itself the "Labour" government is conducting a fight against the insurgent peasants of the North West Frontier provinces; it is causing workers and peasants to be shot down in Bombay, Calcutta, Karachi, Bengal and other places.

The English police are helping the "Left" national reformists to wrest from the revolutionaries the red union of the Bombay textile workers, Girmi Kangar. The English authorities help the national reformists and the trade union leaders in their attack on the revolutionary wing of the Labour movement in the whole of India. Communist renegades like Roy, who have become "Left" national reformists, call upon the workers to join the National Congress in order, allegedly, to "capture" this organisation from within.

The Labour-man Brailsford has been mobilised to support the English troops and police, to support the reformists of various shades. He is touring India and propagating non-resistance and reformism. For this purpose there is being set up under his leadership a police socialist party. This sorry hero of treachery is endeavouring to prove to the Indian workers that Dominion Status, i. e., slavery within the confines of the British Empire, is better than independence; that submission in the garb of reformism is better than the revolutionary class struggle.

Gandhi and the National Congress, as well as the "Left" traitors of the National Congress, are preaching non-resistance, submission to imperialism. Brailsford is doing the same, thing. Collaboration between national reformists and the social imperialists in the sphere of deception of the workers has become exceedingly close. But the police socialists of Indian origin do not find any followers among the Indian workers. The latter are already showing an example of heroic fight for emancipation from the double yoke: from the yoke of their own and of the British bourgeoisie. Mr. Brailsford's tour in India will be crowned with "successes" like those which marked the China tour of his comrade in social fascism, Emile Vandervelde.

POLITICS

The Approaching New Stage of the Fascist Dictatorship in Germany.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

"To the question whether a participation of the Hitler Party in the government is desirable, I answer with an unreserved Yes. It is more than desirable; it is necessary." With this declaration **General von Seeckt**, the former head of the German Reichswehr, broke the political stillness of the Christmas holidays and openly raised the question on which the political development in Germany in the next few weeks will turn.

This answer from General Seeckt was given in response to a questionnaire sent out by the "Deutschen Allgemeine Zeitung", which ever since the Reichstag elections in September last has consistently advocated the entry of the National Socialists in the Government and which in its Christmas edition published four replies from "prominent Germans". In addition to Seeckt there figured the former President of the Reichsbank, **Dr. Schacht** and the old Lord Chamberlain, **von Oldenburg-Januschau**, both of whom are whole-hearted advocates of participation of the National Socialists in the Government, while the fourth person to whom the question was submitted, a nationalist university professor, expressed his fear that it was "too early" for a participation of the Hitler Party in the Government and that it might end in a "failure" (i. e. a premature unmasking of their social and national phrases). The effects of such a "failure", says the professor, would be fearful and much worse than the "moral collapse" of 1918. For once the Hitler Party is wrecked "what other standard is there round which the demoralised masses could be rallied in order to wrest them from Bolshevism".

General Seeckt also in support of his opinion as to the necessity of the National Socialists entering the Government, points to the mass of the working class "who are Germans at heart and are immune to Russian poison". It is fear of the rising wave of revolutionary activity of the proletariat which makes these prominent members of the German bourgeoisie advocate a Hitler coalition. They ask with ever increasing anxiety, what will happen if in the next few weeks and months the economic crisis grows still worse and the class antagonism becomes more acute; and they see no other damm than National Socialism. These ideas are not new. Hitler and his adjutants ever since September have been constantly proclaiming them to the circles of the German bourgeoisie.

When before Christmas the social democracy for the second time saved the Brüning Cabinet from the passing of a vote of no-confidence introduced by the Communist fraction, everybody knew that the government crisis was thereby only postponed once again, and that in January it would again be on the order of the day. The capitulation of the Cabinet to the national socialist demonstrations against the Remarque film showed how weak the Government feels itself to be. Meanwhile, it has also capitulated to Hitler and his supporters on the question of the National socialist police in the province of Thuringia, and it is an open secret that Herr Wirth, the Reich Minister for the Interior, who is thereby sacrificed will not be able to retain his position long. But the position of the Foreign Minister Curtius is also so greatly shaken, particularly in his own party, that it is hardly likely that he will be able to remain in office for long. In January the re-formation of the Government will be on the order of the day. The National Socialists are therefore already putting forward their claims!

In connection with the question of the Reichs Government, Hitler and Hugenberg are raising the question of the Prussian provincial government. Unless the Centre abandon the social democratic coalition in Prussia co-operation in the Reich will be impossible. But it is just this coalition in Prussia which the Centre find hard to renounce, because — thanks to the subjugation of the Social Democratic Party of Germany to the leadership of the Centre — it has been able in Prussia to rule without restriction, a privilege which it would have to renounce in the event of a national socialist coalition. Thus to the extent to which the Hitler-Hugenberg campaign against

the two Reich ministers Curtius and Wirth proves successful, so Prussia becomes more and more the cardinal point of German home politics, and is only a question of how long the Centre will be able to withstand this pressure.

The stronger the pressure of Hitler Fascism on the dictatorship cabinet became, the more servile and cringing became the attitude of the social democracy to the dictatorship. Their sole idea is to cling as closely as possible to the Brüning dictatorship in order not to lose all political influence. The social fascist police presidents "prove" their efficiency by causing the unemployed to be batoned and shot down; the social democratic trade union leaders demonstrate their reliability by striving to prevent the masses of workers from taking up a fight at the turn of the year when numerous collective agreements expire. Social fascism and national fascism are competing with each other for the privilege of serving as a protective wall against the revolutionary flood!

But the rising revolutionary flood is not to be held back by any of these means; for it is being driven forward by the crisis, which is still increasing. Germany is entering the year 1931 with an army of unemployed numbering four million. The degree of occupation in the most important branches of industry, which in the period from July to November sank from 73.6 per cent. to 66.9 per cent., is faced with a further serious deterioration. The output of coal in November was about two million tons below the average monthly output in the fourth quarter of 1929; the number of furnaces at work has declined in the past twelve months from 101 to 64; building activity is 20 per cent below the level of last year; in the engineering industry export business shows a progressive deterioration; the Institute for Business Research reckons the decline in the turnover of retail trade at about 4,000 to 4,500 million marks. The predictions which the Institute for Business Research makes for the immediate future are anything but optimistic for German capitalism. It states that "There is not likely to be any improvement for some time; a further worsening of the situation is not excluded".

It is this development in Germany, which with the increasing economic crisis renders the further aggravation of class antagonisms inevitable, that is also driving forward the political crisis. The present Brüning dictatorship, which represents the first stage of the fascist dictatorship in Germany, is thereby driven on to the next stage, which will probably be characterised by a coalition with Hitler. Regarding the results of this development General von Seeckt, in his above-mentioned declaration, has said that "Shavings will fly". But if it comes to a question of planing, the working class will prefer to be the plane!

Wages in Italy after Eight Years of Fascism.

By Stefano.

"Fortunately the Italian people is not yet accustomed to eating several times a day."

(Extract from a speech delivered by Mussolini in the Italian Senate on the 18th December 1930.)

About eighteen months ago the average real wages of the Italian workers were hardly 60 per cent of the average real wages enjoyed by the Italian working class immediately prior to the fascist seizure of power in Italy. This figure is the result of a serious and exact investigation of the Italian Confederation of Labour. The net result of seven years of fascist rule for the Italian workers was therefore a 40 per cent drop in real wages. Fascist statistics, the last which were published in this connection, declare that the average gross wage of an Italian worker in the same period was 2.01 Lira an hour. A gross wage means the theoretical wage of the worker prior to the deductions made for social insurance, the fascist trade union levy and the periodical "voluntary" contributions to various funds.

Since then, however, wages in Italy have been reduced still further under various pretexts. During the last few days the fascist newspapers have been compelled to admit that during the last few months the wages of the Italian workers have dropped considerably. And now, after innumerable wage-cuts, a new general wage-cut of 10 per cent is announced.

On the basis of these facts it is not too much to assume that the average paid out wage of the Italian worker to-day is not more than 1.50 Lira an hour. A worker employed for

a whole month (and how many workers are there in Italy to-day who are able to work constantly for a whole month?) is therefore unable to earn an average of even 300 Lira which represents a starvation wage.

That is the net result for the workers of eight years of fascist rule in Italy, of eight years of dictatorship controlled by the bankers, the industrialists and the rich landowners! That is fascism!

What will be the political consequences of the latest manoeuvre of the fascists?

1. Fascism will not succeed in ameliorating the acute crisis from which the Italian economic system is suffering and which is in close connection with the world economic crisis of capitalism. With regard to the internal market, the new general 10 per cent wage-cut will only worsen the situation. On the other hand a possible drop in the prices of Italian export goods of from 4 to 5 per cent will not mean much in the struggle for markets with the great imperialist Powers, the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France and Japan, which are also lowering their export prices under the pressure of the crisis. The notorious anti-soviet "dumping" campaign was an invention of the enemies of the Soviet Union, but the dumping of the United States with regard to motor-cars and the dumping indulged in by Japan with regard to cotton and rice, three commodities in which Italy is particularly interested, is no invention but a hard fact. It is certain that the fascist manoeuvre and the consequent sinking of wages, will increase the fascist tendencies of the Italian bankers, industrialists and landowners. The most stupid and unintelligent capitalist must grasp the fact that the present economic crisis is a crisis of the whole system of capitalism, and that the fascist regime alone has succeeded in lowering the real wages of the workers by over 50 per cent during the course of nine years.

2. The petty-bourgeoisie will drift further and further away from fascism. The great masses of the employees of the State and municipal institutions, who were held more or less neutral by the fascists by means of special privileges, suddenly see their salaries cut by 12 per cent at one blow. The masses of small tradesmen etc., who were already experiencing difficulties, will now be hit doubly by the latest fascist manoeuvre: on the one hand the fascist regime exercises pressure on them in order to produce a drop in prices, even if only insignificant and temporary, whilst on the other hand the drop in wages and salaries must inevitably cut down their sales. The diminished possibility of the workers earning in industry will also result in a worsening of the situation of the peasantry, which is already catastrophic. The social basis of fascism will thus shrink more than ever. The dissatisfaction of the petty-bourgeoisie with the fascist regime will extend and deepen. This process will not be without its effects within the fascist party and in the whole apparatus of the fascist regime.

3. Finally, the fighting spirit of the masses who are faced with starvation, must increase. Even the fascist regime has been unable to prevent the accompaniment of general wage reductions by mass movements. The new wage-cuts will come in a period in which the living conditions of the workers are already unbearable, in which a general resuscitation of the class struggle can be observed, and in which the class organs of the Italian proletariat, the Communist Party and the Italian Confederation of Labour are increasing their influence and consolidating their organisations. During the next few weeks and months we shall therefore observe increasingly broad and violent mass movements in Italy which will also be connected with the growth of unemployment and the general increase of misery in the winter months.

The new manoeuvre of fascism and the causes which led up to it, confirm the analysis made of the situation by the Italian Communist Party and confirm the perspectives seen by the Party. This faces the Communist Party with ever greater and ever more exact tasks, particularly with regard to the work amongst the masses.

All the Italian workers, both those still in Italy and those living abroad, are absolutely convinced that their Party, the Communist Party, will succeed in carrying out these tasks, and succeed in mobilising the masses of the Italian workers and leading them to victory in the decisive struggle against fascism and capitalism and for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in Italy.

The Situation in Belgium.

By W. Maesschalck (Brussels).

The situation in Belgium is becoming more and more acute. Unemployment is increasing. Further discharges of numerous workers are taking place.

The offensive against wages is being carried on without intermission, and is the more successful as the reformist leaders of the trade unions are rendering loyal service to the employers.

The miners, who already on July 6 were forced to accept a wage-cut of 5 per cent. and on October 4 a further wage-cut of 4 per cent., are now threatened with a fresh reduction of 5 per cent. and in addition one per cent is now deducted from their wages as contribution to the pensions fund.

In order to render possible the success of the employers' offensive, the reformist trade union leaders have adopted new tactics, which consist in putting forward a general demand when the workers are affected by wage reductions. Thus Delattre and his colleagues, when they heard of the employers' intention to reduce the wages of the miners, raised the demand for increased pension rates.

Thanks to this manoeuvre, they succeeded in preventing the miners from taking action. In fact the first act of the reformist comedy was the putting through of a patriotic wage cut of 5 per cent and the acceptance of increased deductions from wages.

The second act consisted in throttling the magnificent fight of 15,000 miners of Borinage and, by means of an arbitration award, in having this strike declared illegal, with the result that the miners were compelled to pay compensation to the employers for alleged damage sustained!

When the second wage cut of 4 per cent was put through in October, the reformist leaders busied themselves with warning the miners against "Communist elements" and urging them to submit to the wage-cut, because, they said, it was impossible to do anything against it!

The employers are now demanding a fresh wage reduction of 5 per cent., giving as a reason that they have been compelled to increase their expenditure for social purposes owing to the increased contributions payable by the employers to the Pensions Fund. This prearranged game is being played out to the end! The reformist leaders took advantage of the urgent desire of the miners for pensions in order to enforce wage cuts on them, and now the employers are aiming at forcing the miners to bear the costs of the pensions, and even more.

Wage-cuts are also being introduced in the metal industry. The workers employed in the smelting works have had a wage reduction of 5 per cent. They too were deceived by the trade union leaders, who acted as if they intended to resist the wagecut, but later accepted it without demur and without consulting the rank and file of the workers.

It is true that meetings were afterwards held, but the bureaucrats stilled the fighting spirit of the workers by pointing to the bad position of the market and commenced a shameful offensive against the unskilled workers and against the foreign workers, and promised to take up the fight after the crisis had passed.

In the engineering industry the employers have just announced their demands. They are demanding a 10 per cent. wage reduction. The Parity Commission of the Engineering industry has therefore met in order to deal with the situation, and as the "Labour representatives" in this Commission are the same who accepted and put through the wage cut of 5 per cent. for the workers in the smelting works, it is easy to guess what the attitude of the reformist bureaucrats will be.

Also in other branches of industry wage cuts are pending. In the building trade, in the textile industry, in stone quarrying etc., the workers are the object of attack by the employers.

The position of the unemployed, who already number over 200,000, is extremely difficult. Only those unemployed who are organised in trade unions have any claim to unemployment benefit. The others, numbering more than 120,000, receive no relief whatever and are exposed to the greatest misery.

The reformist and christian demagogues are pretending to take up the cause of the unemployed. Minister Heyman

has issued a royal decree according to which workers — not the unemployed — who do not belong to a trade union shall, after a waiting period of six months, be entitled to unemployment benefit if they join a trade union before the 31st December 1930. This means that workers who now join a trade union will be entitled to unemployment benefit at the end of June next if they should then be out of work.

Neither the Social Democrats nor the Christian Democrats say a word about increasing the unemployment benefit for trade union organised workers. The 120,000 unemployed workers who are not members of trade unions are regarded by them as outcasts, and they will do nothing for them but send them to the relieving officers.

In view of this situation the Communist Party is demanding that all unemployed, without distinction, shall be entitled to unemployment benefit to the amount of full wages. It is also demanding of public bodies the granting of adequate credits in order to aid all unemployed.

The Communist Party of Belgium has already achieved some successes in its attempts to organise the unemployed. These successes have aroused the anger of the reformist bureaucrats. Thus in Antwerp the social fascist Piet Somers sent a body of police armed with clubs and revolvers against the unemployed dockers and prohibited all meetings. In Ghent also open-air meetings have been forbidden, solely in order to prevent the Communists from carrying on propaganda.

In spite of these persecutions the workers are beginning to stir and to realise that only the Communist Party is defending their interests. The prospects for revolutionary work in Belgium are very favourable. At its last meeting the Central Committee of the C.P. of Belgium sketched out a plan of work which shall bring the Party into closer contact with the masses. The whole Party will participate in this work in order to strengthen its influence and to promote the revolutionary trade union opposition.

THE BALKANS

The Second Anniversary of the Military Fascist Dictatorship in Yugoslavia.

By B. Boskovic.

Two years ago, on January 6th 1929, in an acute agrarian and State crisis, there was set up in Yugoslavia, with the aid of the London and Paris Stock Exchanges, the military-fascist dictatorship, the dictatorship of finance capital, under the hegemony of the Pan-Serbian bourgeoisie.

During these two years of hangmen's rule of the Belgrade dictators the agrarian crisis has neither been solved nor ameliorated; it is assuming ever larger proportions and is continually becoming more acute. The prices of agricultural products have fallen by 60 to 70 per cent, in comparison with prices in January 1929. The disparity between the prices of agricultural products and industrial products is nowhere so striking as in Yugoslavia. The purchasing power of the masses in town and country is sinking from day to day. This profound agrarian crisis in turn further aggravates the industrial crisis. The only branch of industry which is developing is the war industry. New military-technical factories are being built; the chemical industry is flourishing; new strategical railways and roads are being constructed at a feverish pace.

The general economic crisis is also reflected in the trade balance, which for ten months of the year 1930 shows a deficit of 230,329,507 Dinars. With the falling off of imports there is to be seen a rapid decline of the stock of foreign bills held by the National Bank. The general price drop also means an increase in the burden of foreign indebtedness of fascist Yugoslavia. The military-fascist dictatorship is intensifying the financial crisis by increasing expenditure on the military and on the huge police and fascist apparatus. The military-fascist dictatorship, owing to the severe financial crisis, is increasing the old taxes and introducing new ones, thereby placing further burdens on the working masses in town and country.

During these two years of the fascist dictatorship, the position of the working class has deteriorated tremendously.

Wages have been reduced by 40 per cent. and the working day lengthened to 10, 12 and 14 hours. A fearful terror prevails in all the factories. The workers are treated like slaves; they are beaten, cheated of their wages and dismissed without a moment's notice. If the workers make any protest against this treatment they are denounced by the employers as Communists and delivered over to the police, who torture them in prison and then send them to their place of birth. The workers work 10, 12 and 14 hours a day for 18 to 30 Dinar. With this money they can purchase only 22.5—37.3 per cent. of the bare necessities of life. Although these wages are so small the capitalists are endeavouring with the help of the social fascists to reduce them by 10 to 15 per cent. There exists no unemployment benefit whatever. The military dictatorship knows but two

Balance of Two Years Bloody Dictatorship in Yugoslavia.

Zagreb, 21st December 1930.

During the two years' existence of the military-fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia the organs of the police and of the fascists have committed 97 political murders. Among the murdered there are 6 Croat nationalists, 3 Albanians nationalist, 2 Bosnian Moslems, 2 Montenegrin nationalists.

German peasant, 32 Macedonians, and 51 Communists and revolutionary workers. More than 10,000 political prisoners went through the torture chambers of the bloody dictatorship in these two years. More than 1,500 prisoners are still pining in the dungeons. During these two years 403 persons have been sentenced in 83 political trials: 400 to a total of 1376 years 2 months' hard labour and three to capital punishment.

methods of solving unemployment: in all towns wholesale raids are carried out twice a week, that is, the unemployed are hunted down, arrested and expelled from the town; in addition the unemployed are sent to work in the foreign colonies

By placing the heavy burdens of the agrarian crisis on the shoulders of the working peasants, the military-fascist dictatorship is plunging the small and middle peasants into the greatest misery. Taxes are collected by seizing and selling the land and fixtures of the defaulting peasant taxpayer; the sale of land and fixtures is a daily occurrence; they are sold for the fifteenth part of the value they had three years ago. By means of laws and decrees on the regulation of agrarian relations, the military-fascist dictatorship compels the working peasants to pay as compensation to the big landowners 10,000 to 30,000 Dinars for a hectare of land, whilst today in Yugoslavia one hectare of land costs 3,000 Dinars. As a result of this barbarous agrarian policy the working peasants have been plunged into absolute poverty, enslaved and deprived of all rights.

The two years' balance of the military fascist dictatorship in regard to national policy is equally negative. National oppression is still raging. The Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians, Montenegrins, Albanians, Germans, Hungarians etc. are deprived of all rights; they are enslaved and compelled to live in the "great Serbian" prison which the Belgrade tyrants call Yugoslavia. Their territories are cut up and divided into banats. The oppressed peoples are driven from their homes; their land is taken from them in order to give it to the "loyal" colonists and the Russian white guardist emigrants. Never was the hatred of the oppressed nationalities against Yugoslavia so great as at present, never was the State unity more endangered than it is now.

The bloodhounds of the military-fascist dictatorship aim at putting the blame for the severe economic crisis, for the policy of robbery and oppression, for which they alone are responsible onto other causes. The press is spreading the lie that Soviet Russian "dumping" is responsible for the ruin of the working peasants and for the wholesale unemployment. But in spite of everything the dictatorship is not succeeding in winning the working masses for fascism; it has not succeeded in extending its social basis, although the social fascists and the bankrupt leaders of the Radic Party and of the peasant-democratic coalition are lending willing aid in this respect.

In all districts of Yugoslavia there is to be observed a general and growing discontent and hatred against the military dictatorship. The working masses are commencing economic fights, are conducting movements for the conclusion of tariff agreements, are proclaiming strikes. The working peasants are offering armed resistance and going over to the attack against the organs of the dictatorship. The general economic crisis is beginning to develop into a political crisis.

Feverish war preparations, frightful terror, open civil-war against the working masses — that is the reply of the fascist hangmen to the intensification of the crisis and the upsurge of the revolutionary movement. 56 murders, 923 persons rendered permanent invalids as a result of police tortures, 9326 arrests, that is the record of the military fascist dictatorship for the year 1929 alone. In the course of only three months in 1930 the Belgrade Special Tribunal condemned a number of Communists to terms of imprisonment amounting in all to 375½ years. The court proceedings in the whole of Yugoslavia provide a wealth of evidence regarding the terrible and cruel tortures to which arrested persons are subjected in order to exact confessions from them and to compel them to betray their comrades who are still at liberty. The bloodhounds of the fascist dictatorship are not content with torturing revolutionaries. After systematic, prolonged and bestial tortures they are murdered in the most foul and cruel manner: one is shot "while attempting to escape", another is thrown out of window. In this way 94 of the best revolutionary fighters were murdered, among them being Comrade Risto Samardzic Noskov, who on the 15th October 1930 was thrown into the street from the third floor window of the Zagreb police headquarters.

The workers, the toiling peasant and oppressed national minorities are assembling their forces and, under the leadership of the Communist Party, are strengthening their fight against the military-fascist dictatorship. And because it is the only party which stands in the front ranks of the fight, it naturally follows that the savage and barbarous terror of the Belgrade dictators is directed in the first place against the C. P. of Yugoslavia and that fascism aims at completely exterminating the advance-guard of the working class.

The C. P. of Yugoslavia is summoning the working masses in town and country to street meetings and demonstrations on the 6th of January 1931, the second anniversary of the bloody fascist dictatorship. The revolutionary proletariat of Yugoslavia hopes that on this day the international proletariat will support it in its heroic fight for the overthrow of the bloody military-fascist dictatorship.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The British Cotton Worker's Struggle Against Rationalisation.

By William Rust (London).

The Lancashire cotton workers are faced with a tremendous onslaught on their already terribly low standard of living. A tremendous rationalisation and speeding up drive is developing, and the cotton employers have already posted notices to expire on January 5th enforcing the operation of the "more loom system" on the basis of a lower piece price list. So far only the weaving section, employing 200,000 workers are affected by these notices, although of course a strike in the weaving section would also stop the spinners.

At present the weavers operate only four looms, and for this they receive a wage of 39/- per week. According to the new proposals they are being called upon to work six, eight and 10 looms, but on the basis of a new price list so that for double work they will not receive double pay. According to the employers' terms a weaver now operating four looms and earning 39/-, will earn 47/- if he operates eight looms and providing they run at 85 per cent efficiency. It is important to note that the new system applies to the old looms, and not to new machinery. So far the obstacles to technical re-equipment are so enormous that there is no widespread introduction of the proposed automatic loom.

The employers do not propose to change over to the more loom system at once. To do so would bring about con-

siderable technical difficulties and would also arouse the united resistance of the workers. Therefore the change over is taking place piece-meal. Ten per cent of the looms in January, another 15 per cent in April, another 20 per cent in July and another 25 per cent in October, leaving the remaining 30 per cent permanently on the four loom system for special work.

It is obvious that by this method the employers hope to single out certain mills for the introduction of the more loom system, and once the resistance of the workers has been broken in the earlier stages, then to pass over to the attack in other sections later on in 1931. Therefore, it is probable there will be no general lockout in January, but a struggle in the particular mills immediately affected.

According to the estimates of the trade union officials, the general adoption of the new system will mean the permanent displacement of nearly one half of the 200,000 weavers in the industry. What this means can be understood when it is remembered that 44 per cent, or 222,000 of the cotton workers (spinners and weavers) are at present unemployed. This figure takes no account of those who are working full time, but operating only two or three of their four looms.

In this situation the position of the **women workers** is of the utmost importance, because 63 per cent of the workers are women, and in the weaving section, the percentage is even greater, being over 70 per cent. The employers are devoting great attention to winning the women for the support of the 8-loom system on the basis of the argument that the men will now be able to earn a living wage, and thus free the women from factory work. In Lancashire at the present time large numbers of women are the mainstay of the family because the husbands are unemployed and these women are compelled to work in the factory and also suffer the drudgery of housework. It is also true that many women will be physically incapable of running eight or ten looms, and in one mill where eight looms have been experimented, women have often fainted and been carried out.

At the same time in order to bring pressure on the women and to prevent them from leading a resistance against the more loom system, the Labour Government has recently made decisions compelling unemployed women to accept domestic service on the penalty of losing their unemployment benefit if they refuse. This is a means both of driving the women out of this occupation, and of weakening the resistance to the employers' offensive.

In fact the whole attack on the cotton workers is maturing under the guidance of the **Labour Government**, and the present demands of the employers for a more loom system and a revised piece price list are based upon the report of the Government Committee, which made an exhaustive investigation into the industry, and laid down a complete rationalisation programme.

The **trade union officials** are playing a very cunning game. So far they have rejected the new piece price-list proposed by the employers, and are making bold speeches because they realise the widespread feeling amongst the workers. It is important to note, however, that although the trade union officials are making a show of militancy, their criticisms are not directed against the more-loom system, but only against the new piece price-list. In fact the trade union officials have facilitated the introduction of the more loom system all along the line, agreeing to the operation and continuance of the experiment in Burnley, despite the fact that the operatives in that town turned it down by a 20-1 vote.

The trade union officials are also raising the question of a minimum wage, and it is clear that they are prepared to agree to the introduction of the more loom system and to urge the workers to accept it, provided a slight compromise can be arranged with the employers regarding the piece price-list and possibly the guarantee of a low minimum wage.

The trade union officials have a very strong influence in Lancashire; the weavers being strongly organised, although the life of the unions is very poor and union meetings held very irregularly. The trade union officials have also not hesitated to expel active workers and members of the **Minority Movement**, who have carried on an exposure of reformist treachery.

The **Minority Movement**, which has been active for a considerable period in the Lancashire cotton area, but without yet succeeding in building up a strong organisation, is now making

a determined drive in order to organise a fierce resistance on January 5th. A programme of demands has been worked out, and a special Conference for the purpose of electing a Committee of Action has been called for January 4th. At the same time propaganda is being carried on at the mill-gates, and within the unions, with the object of setting up committees of action, and winning the workers away from the influence of the reformist officials.

In this situation the **Workers Charter** is being put forward as the rallying programme for uniting all sections of the working class and giving added strength to the economic struggle of the cotton workers. It is of particular importance that the Workers Charter should play this role in Lancashire, for here is the seat of concentrated industry, engineering, mining and transport, as well as cotton, and all the workers employed in these industries are faced with demands for lower wages and worsened conditions.

All of the revolutionary propaganda in this situation must take into account the chronic state of **decline in the industry** and explain to the cotton workers not only the immediate steps to be taken in order to resist the capitalist offensive, but also the revolutionary road out of capitalist misery.

Never was there such a spectacle in history before. A great industry is crumbling away, the mills are idle, and the bleak towns team with the hungry and haggard victims of capitalism.

Lured on for years by the false promise of re-conquered markets, the cotton workers are now learning that British capitalism, broken and in decay, can never return to the days when it was the workshop of the world. The industry exports 75 per cent of its produce, and these export figures show an enormous decline:

1913	7,075,252,000 Linear Yards
1927	4,189,109,600 Linear Yards
1928	3,968,189,300 Linear Yards
1929	3,764,851,400 Linear Yards

The figures for 1930 will be even lower. Taking China as an example the exports for the eleven months ending November 1930 were **1,972,500** square yards, as against 10,163,500 square yards for the eleven months ending November 1929. In 1913, 3,057 million yards of cotton piece goods were exported to India; the 1929 figures were only 1,268 million yards, that is a decline of 58.5 per cent. Probably Lancashire's total output of cotton piece goods for 1930 will only equal the total of the 1913 export to India.

The new year opens with even worsened prospects. For prominent capitalists and bankers are declaring that forecasts of improvement in trade are "comical and fictitious". Against the false promises of a restoration of the market if only the working class will make a sacrifice, the **Communist Party** advances its revolutionary programme of organised action now with the object of defeating the capitalist offensive and strengthening the forces of the working class which in co-operation with the oppressed colonial masses of the Empire, will be able to smash the common enemy — British Imperialism.

International Fighting Alliance of the Miners.

By G. Sobottka.

The Miners Conference convened by the International Committee of the Miners, was held on 20th and 21st December in the Ruhr district. The representatives of the miners of all countries discussed in two days not only the most important miners' questions, in particular the support of the Ruhr struggle, but also adopted important political decisions.

The Conference was very well attended by representatives of miners from all countries. Six delegates from England represented the mining districts of Scotland, South Wales, Yorkshire and Lancashire; the five French delegates represented the mining districts of Loire, Alsace, Gard and the North. The Belgian miners were represented by 4 delegates, the Czechoslovakian miners by 2 delegates. Poland and the small countries likewise sent representatives. The various mining districts of Germany had been elected at pit meetings or big miners' meetings and were financed by the miners themselves.

On the first item of the agenda: "The Struggle of the miners in the Ruhr district and its importance for the international struggle of the miners", Comrade Sobottka delivered a comprehensive report on the situation of the miners in the various countries.

After a thorough discussion participated in by the representatives of the various countries, the Conference adopted an international fighting programme of the miners. The Conference decided to issue an appeal to the miners of Germany, in which the delegates from all countries express their fighting solidarity with the Ruhr miners and assure them of their support in every way.

On the proposal of the French and Polish delegations a second item was placed on the agenda: "The War Danger and the Defence of the Soviet Union". The French and Polish delegations submitted to the Conference an appeal to the working men and women of all capitalist countries, which was unanimously adopted.

In addition, the Conference adopted a further decision on this item- in which it is stated:

"In the Lenin days of January 1931, in which the proletariat of the whole world will demonstrate its determination to fight for the aims which the great fighter, the leader of the world revolution, Vladimir Lenin, has shown to the proletariat — in these days of demonstration for Leninism, the mobilisation of the masses for the protection of the Soviet Union must be carried out".

In this resolution the International Conference of the miners addresses itself to all international revolutionary brother organisations, all federations of the evolutionary trade union movement in the various countries, the "Union of the Friends of Soviet Russia", with the proposal that a world Congress of all working men and women, of unemployed, of women and youths shall be called for the purpose of dealing with the preparation and organisation of practical measures for the protection of the proletarian Republic, the U. S. S. R.

The third item of the agenda dealt with the improvement of the protection of the miners in production. A decision was adopted to increase the struggle for improved miners' protection in all countries, in particular to organise the struggle for the removal of piece work in the mining industry.

The Conference had to carry out the greatest portion of its work in closed sessions in order not to be molested by the police.

The public session took place on Saturday evening in the People's House in Gelsenkirchen, and was attended by more than 700 Ruhr miners. Comrade Sobottka pointed to the approaching serious struggles of the mining proletariat and the importance of the International Conference of the miners. He declared that the revolutionary miners had not only taken over the leadership of the struggle in the individual districts and countries, but in addition, in the International Conference and the International Committee of the Miners the international leadership of the miners' struggles is assured.

The meeting was further addressed by Comrade Allan, the leader of the strike of the Scottish miners, Comrade Tibaut for the French miners, Lahaut for the Belgians and by a Polish delegate.

After the International Conference and also the pit delegate Conference of the Ruhr miners which was held on Sunday 21st December, had concluded their work, a joint meeting of the international Conference of the Miners and of the pit delegate Conference took place. Comrade Niederkirchner, the representative of the Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U., addressed the International Conference and the pit delegate Conference of the Ruhr district. He pointed to the great importance of these two Conferences and the necessity of conducting the economic struggles under the banner of the R. I. L. U.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Ten Years of the Communist Party of France.

Ten years have passed since the Communist Party of France was founded at the Party Congress of the Socialist Party of France in Tours.

This Party Congress, which had to decide the question of affiliation to the III. International, had been preceded by long and heated discussions. The II. Congress of the Communist International had laid down the 21 conditions which must be accepted by all parties which wish to join the International. These conditions, which were published in "Humanité" on 8th October 1920, were hotly debated. A committee for affiliation to the III. International led this struggle.

The reformist and centrist elements of the Socialist Party of France attempted to manoeuvre with all sorts of "unity" tricks. But they met with little success. The conferences of the district federations ended in most cases with a victory of the Committee for the III. International. Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Strassburg and all the other big industrial centres, with the exception of Lille and Limoges, but also many rural districts gave overwhelming majorities for the adherents of the Communist International. Three quarters of the votes were therefore assured for affiliation, which was effected at the National Party Congress in Tours after long debates, collisions, incidents and in spite of all counter-manoevres of the opponents.

Already at the commencement of the Party Congress the discussion of Standing Orders led to a fighting vote being taken, as a result of which the question of affiliation was fixed as the first item of the agenda. In the debates the Rights kept in the background. The centrists, before all Longuet and Paul Faure, conducted the main fight against affiliation. The most effective speech for the adherents of affiliation was delivered by Marcel Cachin whilst the later renegade Frossard played at that time a more diplomatic role. The telegram from the Communist International and the speech of Clara Zetkin, who in spite of her advanced years overcame all the hindrances of an illegal journey to the Party Congress, exerted a decisive influence on the attitude of the Party Congress.

The decisive vote resulted in 3208 votes for the III. International, 1023 votes for Longuet's centrist resolution, 394 votes withheld (Rights), 32 absentees, and 44 for an ultra-Left resolution.

This vote led to the split and to the foundation of the Communist Party of France. Although it needed several years in order to remove certain elements who were inclined to conduct an opportunist policy of compromises, the Party Congress of Tours made the decisive step forwards: it opened up a new epoch in the labour movement of France and thereby of the international labour movement.

Re: Draft Platform of Action of the C. P. of India.

In our issue No. 58, 18th December last we published a „Draft Platform of Action of the Communist Party of India.“

Together with this Draft Platform the Communist Party of India sent us a short letter with the request that this letter should be printed at the head of the Draft Platform. Owing to a technical error on our part this was not done. The letter in question reads as follows:

We are sending you the draft platform of action of our Party, which we ask you to publish in all working class papers. We ask you to print in your papers all corrections and suggestions which members of your party may propose. It will help us to work out a final draft of our platform.

With revolutionary greetings

The Communist Party of India.

We publish this letter now in order that those editors who are publishing the Draft Programme shall print the letter as a preface to the same.

Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg-Week

The Preparations for the Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg-Week.

15th to 21st January 1931.

A year ago we pointed out that together with all fighting tasks, "the centre point of the campaign in connection with the Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg week must be the Five-Year Plan of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the necessity of defending the Soviet Union in connection with the direct danger of a military attack".

This applies still more to the preparations for the approaching Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg week from 15th to 21st January.

Socialist construction in the Soviet Union: the Five-Year-Plan, thanks to the creative power and the unexampled enthusiasm for work of the proletariat of the Soviet Union and the correct policy of the C. P. S. U., has made further **gigantic steps forward**. The tasks of the Five-Year-Plan in the past economic year — the second year of the Five-Year-Plan — were **surpassed** in the most important spheres of national economy.

The gross production in **socialist industry** increased by 25 per cent; it exceeded the figures of the Five-Year-Plan by 5 per cent, and thereby attained to **double the pre-war output of industry**.

The successes of socialist industry secured a thorough **transformation of agriculture** to the advantage of socialist development. The successes in the sphere of agriculture are extraordinarily great. The area under cultivation increased from 118 million hectares in the year 1928/29 to 127.7 million hectares in the year 1929/30. The gross grain harvest amounted in the year 1930 to 87.4 millions tons as compared with 71.7 million tons in the year 1929 — an increase of 21.8 per cent. **The grain problem has, in the main, been solved.**

These achievements are a direct result of the great successes which were attained in the sphere of the collective farming movement and the establishment of Soviet farms. Already on 1st December 1930 the collective farms embraced 24.1 per cent of the peasant farms. In the most important grain areas collectivisation amounted to 49.3 per cent. Instead of the 20.6 million hectares envisaged in the Five-Year Plan for the end of the fifth year, the collective farms in the past year cultivated 36 million hectares. The State grain factories (Soviet farms) embrace more than 6 million hectares of cultivated land. The share of the socialised sector in the production of grain for the market amounts already this year to more than 50 per cent as against 43 per cent proposed by the Five-Year Plan.

These great achievements in the sphere of carrying out the tasks of the Five-Year Plan rendered it possible considerably to improve the material position of the toilers of the Soviet Union. The total number of wage workers reached 13,648,000 in the year 1929/30, as compared with 12,793,000 envisaged in the Five-Year Plan for this year. The problem of unemployment was already removed from the agenda at the end of the second year of the Five-Year Plan. Unemployment in the Soviet Union is liquidated, whilst the Five-Year Plan assumed that even at the end of the five years there would still be 400,000 unemployed.

On the 1st of October 1930, i. e., at the end of the second year, 43.5 per cent of all factory workers had gone over to the seven-hour day. That is 3.5 per cent more than the figure contained in the Five-Year Plan. In the two first years of the Five-Year Plan wages increased on an average by 12.1 per cent.

As a result of the accelerated tempo of growth of national economy and the systematic increase in the share of the socialist sector in the national economy, the realisation of the slogan, "**Five-Year Plan in four years**" is completely assured.

"In the Soviet Union there is commencing the period of socialist advance on all fronts, the period of Socialism". (De-

cision of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. on the report of Comrade Kuibyshev on the control figures for the economic year 1931).

While this tremendous advance is to be recorded in the land of the proletarian dictatorship, in the capitalist countries there is to be seen a **great retrogression**: economic crisis in the leading imperialist countries, the United States, Great Britain and France; severe economic crisis in Germany and Czechoslovakia; profound agrarian, industrial and political crisis in the vassal States of the imperialist Powers, in Poland, Rumania and other Border States of the Soviet Union. In Italy, "the classic country of fascism", the fascist economic system is on the point of collapse, a fact which Mussolini himself admitted in his speech to the Senate.

Hand in hand with the economic crisis there is proceeding in the capitalist countries an offensive aiming at reducing the standard of living of the workers: increased unemployment, wage cuts, lengthening of working hours, cutting down of social insurance etc. and loss of the achievements gained by the proletariat of Europe in the period of revolutionary crisis (abolition of the right to strike, introduction of compulsory arbitration, abolition of a number of political rights and privileges etc.).

The capitalist world is proceeding to cut the Gordian knot of its contradictions. The imperialist countries, headed by France (which wishes to open up the tremendous territory of Russia as a field of investment for its accumulated capital) are feverishly preparing for war against the Soviet Union. International imperialism sees the only way out of its crisis in crushing the land of Socialism and its own working class and peasantry. The revelations at the Moscow trial of the leaders of the counter-revolutionary Industrial Party laid bare the mechanism of intervention in all its details and demonstrated with all clearness the threatening nearness of this war. The new armed attack against the Soviet Union which was to have begun already in the year 1930 has been only postponed to the year 1931.

In this situation it is our main task to place in the centre of our agitation in connection with the Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg week the question of combating the danger of imperialist war, and above all the danger of armed intervention against the Soviet Union, and to mobilise the masses under the slogan of defence of the Soviet Union as well as under all the fighting slogans of the Comintern.

The chief methods to be employed are:

Wide popularisation of the achievements of socialist construction in the Soviet Union as one of the factors which are shaking capitalist stabilisation. The campaign must present a picture of the uncheckable economic, political and cultural growth of the Soviet Union which has reached an unprecedented tempo of development. On the other hand, however, the campaign must present a picture of the profound crisis of capitalist stabilisation. The extraordinarily great interest of the broad masses of the workers in the capitalist countries for the realisation of the Five-Year Plan must be made use of in order to inform the masses regarding all phases of socialist construction.

In addition, it is specially important to call attention to the complete liquidation of unemployment in the Soviet Union, in contrast to the growing unemployment in the capitalist countries, which is an inevitable result of the contradiction between the huge, rationalised capitalist apparatus and the great shrinkage of the market consequent on the ruin of the broad masses — a situation which cannot in any way be altered by a redistribution of the world.

An important feature of the campaign must be the contrasting of the results of the 13 years of Soviet rule with

the results of all the coalition governments, as well as the results of the coming into office of social democratic governments.

The defence of the Soviet Union against the danger of war which threatens from the side of the combined forces of the imperialists and of the social fascists constitutes the greatest trust bequeathed by Lenin, Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

By pointing to the close connection existing between the preparations of the imperialists for new wars and the growth of fascism, as well as the accelerated process of the fascisation of the social democracy, it must be made clear to the broad masses that the fight against imperialist war, the fight for the defence of the Soviet Union is before all a fight against social fascism, against the II. International, which is marching at the head of the war inciters against the Soviet Union.

In connection with the danger of imperialist war against the Soviet Union, the different stages of the preparations for intervention must be skilfully and concretely shown. In particular the role of French imperialism as the chief instigator and leader of the preparation for intervention against the Soviet Union must be made plain.

The methods and forms of the fight against imperialist war must be given a theoretical foundation by popularising the teachings of Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht.

Particular importance attaches to popularising the teachings of Lenin on the tasks of the proletariat in regard to wars of the imperialist epoch, as well as the role of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg in the period of the imperialist war of 1914/19 as ideologists, initiators and organisers. The resolution of the VI. World Congress of the Comintern on the question of war danger and the subsequent documents on this question, which lay down the tasks of the Communists in face of the approaching new wars, and the danger of military attack on the Soviet Union, give the correct Leninist attitude and together

with the speeches of Lenin on this question, must be popularised during the course of the campaign.

Against the pacifist swindle, against the underestimation of the war danger by the Right deviation, the facts of the open military-technical and ideological war preparations against the Soviet Union which were so clearly brought to light at the Moscow trial, must be made use of in the Lenin days as a brilliant illustration of the irrefutability of Lenin's teachings.

During the Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg Week the broad masses must be reminded again and again of the revolutionary international conclusions drawn by Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg on the question of defence of one's native country, of the class struggle before and during war, the exploitation of the war crisis for the proletarian revolution etc.

The popularising of such questions of Leninism as his teachings regarding the mass strike in connection with the highest forms of the proletarian class struggle acquire special importance in the present period of approach of a new revolutionary upsurge and extreme accentuation of the class struggle.

Further extremely important questions, the popularisation of which during the Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg Week is likewise absolutely necessary, are the questions of the role of the masses and the role of the Party in the proletarian revolution, a comprehensive illustration of Lenin's teachings on the mutual relations between the advance-guard and the masses, on the role of the uniform and firm leadership, on the iron discipline of the Party, on proletarian self-criticism, self-control among the Party masses as the main antidote to all varieties of opportunism.

The preparation of the Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg campaign on such a basis will result in this campaign becoming the international mass demonstration of the will of the proletariat and of the broad working masses to fight under the banner of Leninism for the defence of the Soviet Union and for the victory of the proletariat.

Joint Plenum of the C. C. and C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

The Economic Plan for 1931.

Resolution on the Report of Comrade Kuibyshev, Adopted on 19th December 1930.

I.

The economic year 1929/30, the second of the Five-Year Plan, has been a year of new and great successes of the working class in the sphere of Socialist construction.

The figures of the Five-Year Plan have been considerably surpassed in all the most important spheres: a) State big industry, the gross production of which increased by 25 per cent in 1929/30, exceeded the figures of the Five-Year Plan for this year by 5 per cent, whilst in the first year there was to be recorded an increase of 3 per cent as compared with the figures of the Five-Year Plan. In the first two years of the Five-Year Plan the socialist State industry supplied the national economy with products amounting in value to 30,500 million roubles, instead of 29,300 million roubles stipulated in the Five-Year Plan (in unchanged prices).

Especially great were the successes in the branches of industry producing means of production. In the first two years of the Five-Year Plan the production of the heavy industry amounted in value to 13,800 million roubles instead of 12,500 million envisaged in the Five-Year Plan.

In the economic year 1929/30, the production of the whole of the factory industry of the Soviet Union surpassed the pre-war annual production by more than 100 per cent.

b) The successes of Socialist industry secured the decisive transformation in the socialistic development of agriculture.

The area under cultivation increased from 118,000 million hectares in the year 1928/29 to 127,800 million hectares in the past economic year, and in regard to the cultivation of grain and especially the cultivation of economic plants (cotton, sugar beets etc.), exceeded the figures of the Five-Year Plan.

There has also been a considerable increase in agricultural production. The gross yield of the grain harvest in the year 1930 amounted to 87,400 million tons as compared with 71,700 million tons in the year 1929 (an increase of

21.8 per cent.). The gross yield of the cotton harvest will amount to at least 13,500 million cwt. as against 8,600 million cwt. in the year 1929. The gross yield of the beet harvest amounts to 151,700 million cwt. as compared with 62,500 million cwt. in the previous year.

The considerable achievements in agriculture, the practical solution of the grain problem, were the direct results of the tremendous successes of the establishment of collective and Soviet farms and the liquidation of the kulak as a class on the basis of complete collectivisation.

In the sphere of collectivisation, the proposals of the Five-Year Plan have been far surpassed. Already on the 1st December 1930, if one takes into account all the districts of the Soviet Union and all the branches of agriculture (grain-growing, cattle-breeding, fishing, hunting), 6,150,000 individual peasant undertakings (24.1 per cent.) were united in collective undertakings. In the most important grain districts the percentage of collectivisation rose to 49.3 per cent.

The area cultivated by the collective farms amounted to 43.4 million hectares in the Spring and Autumn of 1930 as against 20.6 million hectares stipulated for the last year of the Five-Year Plan.

This means that in the first two years of the Five-Year Plan we have already surpassed the whole of the Five-Year Programme by 100 per cent.

Thus the area under cultivation by the whole of the socialised part of agriculture amounted to 48.2 million hectares (including the Soviet farms, the area under cultivation of which amounted in the Spring and Autumn of 1930 to more than 4,800,000 hectares).

The share of the socialised part of agriculture in the grain harvest of 1930 destined for the market amounted in round figures to 50 per cent. as against 43 per cent. originally stipulated for the last year of the Five-Year Plan.

At the same time in the past year there was a tremendous change in the sphere of socialisation of cattle. With regard to draught horses the share of the socialised part amounted in 1928 to only 0,8 per cent., in 1929 to 1,7 per cent., but in 1930 to 17,2 per cent.; with regard to cattle the respective figures are: 0,4 per cent., 0,8 per cent., 6,6 per cent. This great change in the sphere of collectivisation of stocks of cattle, together with the simultaneous organisation of big Soviet farms for cattle breeding ("Skotovod", "Svinovod", "Ovzovod"), guarantee the rapid solution of the cattle problem.

c) Also in regard to the railways the figures of the Five-Year Plan have been far exceeded. The total of the goods conveyed by the railways amounted in the past economic year to 235 million tons, thereby exceeding the figures for the second year of the Five-Year Plan by more than 25 per cent.

d) This growth of national economy secures the further raising of the material and cultural standard of living of the working population. The total number of the workers and employees considerably exceeded the figures of the Five-Year Plan. In the two years of the Five-Year Plan the wages of the workers have increased by 12 per cent. At the end of the second year of the Five-Year Plan 45,5 per cent. of the workers engaged in industry will already be working the seven-hour day. In the period under report the uninterrupted working week was introduced for 67 per cent. of the workers engaged in industry.

The result of all this is that unemployment has been practically abolished in the Soviet Union.

The tremendous successes in the sphere of Socialist construction are therefore indubitable. The tasks laid down in the Five-Year Plan are not only being fulfilled, but considerably surpassed, so that the realisation of the Five-Year Plan in four years is assured. In the light of these facts the complete collapse and the ideological bankruptcy of the Right and "Left" opportunist standpoint, as well as the outcry of the bourgeois press about the "failure" of the Five-Year Plan — which outcry is intended in the first place to cover up the unprecedented economic crisis in the capitalist countries — are completely exposed.

The most decisive factors in the economic progress of the Soviet Union are the correct policy of the Party and the tremendous increase in the activity and creative working enthusiasm of the masses of the working class and of the peasants on the collective farms, (socialist competition, shock brigades, counter-plans).

II.

The successes of the first two years of the Five-Year Plan render it possible to increase still further the tempo of development of Socialist construction in the year 1931.

Proceeding from this standpoint the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U. resolves:

1. For the whole of the National Economy:

a) To estimate the whole income of the Soviet Union for the year 1931 at 49,000 million roubles (on the basis of the prices obtaining in 1926/27) as against 49,700 million roubles which was assumed for the last year of the Five-Year Plan (1933) on the assumption that the national income in the year 1931 increases by at least 35 per cent. (compared with an increase of 19, and 11 per cent in the years 1929 and 1930 respectively).

b) Assuming such an increase in the national income, the capital investments in the socialist section of national economy (industry, transport, agriculture etc.) are to be fixed at 17,000 million roubles as against 10,000 million roubles in the economic year 1930.

c) The value of commodities produced by industry supplying articles for mass consumption is to be increased in the year 1931 to 14,600 million roubles, as against 11,500 million roubles in the year 1930 (an increase within one year of 3,100 million as compared with 1000 million in the year 1929), which together with the increase in the value of agricultural products will increase the turnover of retail trade by 25 to 30 per cent. as compared with last year.

2. Industry and Electrification.

a) The investments in the socialist industrial building industry and in electrification (electric power stations) for the year 1931 are fixed at 7,470 million roubles, of which sum 850 million are to go to electrification and 5,500 million roubles to the industries coming within the scope of the Supreme People's Economic Council (500 million roubles as a reserve of the Supreme People's Economic Council for the purposes of industry and electrification).

Reduction of the cost of building by 12 per cent.

b) The gross production of the whole of Soviet industry (that embraced by the Supreme People's Economic Council and by the People's Commissariat for Supplies) shall be increased by 45 per cent as compared with 1930, which means the fulfilment of the whole of the Five-Year's programme in light industry in the third year of the Five-Year Plan, i. e. in the year 1931 up to 79 per cent and in the heavy industry up to 98 per cent.

c) By the end of 1931 to increase the capacity of all existing power works to 4½ million kilowatts and the production of electric energy to 12,700 million kilowatt hours as compared with 8,800 million kilowatt hours in the year 1930.

d) To increase the number of workers employed in the industry embraced by the People's Supreme Economic Council by 10 per cent. To increase the productivity of labour by 28 per cent. To reduce overhead charges by 10, per cent, at the same time improving at all costs the quality of production. In the industries embraced by the Commissariat for Supplies: To increase the number of workers by 10 per cent.; to increase the productivity of labour by 35 per cent and to reduce overhead charges by 11 per cent.

3. Agriculture.

a) In the Ukraine (steppe area), in North Caucasus, Lower and Middle Volga, to organise on an average at least 80 per cent of the peasant undertakings into collective farms, which for these districts means practically complete collectivisation and the liquidation of the kulak as a class. In the other grain districts, in the central Black Earth District, Siberia, Ural, the Ukraine (forest and steppe districts) Kasakstan (grain districts), the collectivisation of at least 50 per cent of the peasant farms must be assured, in the grain-importing districts 20 to 25 per cent in regard to corn cultivation; in the cotton and beet growing districts the collectivisation of at least 50 per cent of the total number of farms must be guaranteed.

In the year 1931, in the whole of the Soviet Union and in all branches of agriculture, an average collectivisation of at least 50 per cent of the peasant undertakings must be assured.

b) To increase the area under cultivation in the year 1931 to 143 million hectares (Summer and Winter sowing 1931).

The area cultivated by the Soviet farms must amount to 9½ million hectares (of which 5 million hectares shall be cultivated by the grain trust), that of the collective farms to at least 66 million hectares, of which at least 50 million hectares (of the collective undertakings) must fall to Summer sowing.

c) To increase the number of agricultural machines and tractor stations of the "Tractor-Centre" by the end of the year to 1,400 with a supply of tractors representing a total capacity of 980,000 horse power.

d) To increase the heads of cattle of the "Skotovod" to 2,800,000 head of horned cattle, of the "Svinovod" to 1,900,000 swine, of the "Ovzovod" to 4,400,000 sheep, of the butter and milk trust to 110,000 cows.

e) The capital investment in the socialist section of agriculture (Soviet and collective farms) is fixed at 3,800 million roubles, of which 2,055 million roubles shall go to the State sector and 1,754 million roubles to the collective farms and agricultural machine and tractor stations.

4. Transport and Post.

a) The amount of goods to be conveyed by the railways in the year 1931 to be placed at 330 million tons as against 280 million tons originally assumed for the last year of the Five-Year Plan.

b) To reduce overhead charges in railway transport by at least 9 per cent compared with the year 1930.

c) Capital investments in transport must be fixed at 3,185 million roubles.

d) Capital investments for purposes of the commercial and passenger air fleet must be fixed at 135 million roubles, including 15 million roubles for the maintenance of the passenger lines.

e) Capital investments for the purposes of the Post must be laid down at 260 million roubles.

5. Commissariat for Supplies and Co-operatives.

Proposed Capital Investments:

a) Commissariat for Supplies (raw materials, elevators, refrigerators, graneries etc.) 230 million roubles (without industry).

b) Co-operatives (food supply, vegetable gardens in the suburbs, erection of shops etc.) 365 million roubles (without industry).

6. Labour Power and Cultural Purposes.

a) The total number of workers and employees is to be increased to 16 million in the year 1931 as compared with 14 million in the previous year.

b) To increase the wages of workers employed in industry by 6 per cent. and of workers on the railways by 8 per cent. as compared with 1930. The wage total for 1930 must accordingly be increased to 15,300,000 roubles as compared with 12,500,000 roubles in the year 1930. c) The means of social insurance for workers and employees must be increased in 1931 to 2,138 million roubles as compared with 1,600 million roubles in 1930, which sum exceeds the original figures for the last year of the Five-Year Plan, i. e. 1,950 million roubles.

d) The total amount of the means for improving the conditions of living of the workers is to be increased in 1931 to 285 million roubles as compared with 125 million roubles in the year 1930.

e) The sum of 155 million roubles must be allotted for the protection of labour in industry and in transport.

f) By the end of 1931 the seven-hour day is to be introduced for all railway workers, for at least 92 per cent. of the workers in the industries coming within the scope of the Supreme People Economic Council and for 52 per cent. of the workers in the industry subordinate to the Commissariat for Supplies.

g) In the year 1931 the Five-Day week (the uninterrupted working week) must be introduced in the whole of the industry embraced by the People's Supreme Economic Council, excluding the textile workers, and must also be introduced for 98 per cent. of the workers employed in the industries embraced by the Commissariat for Supplies.

h) In the building of dwellings 1,100 million roubles must be invested in all the branches of socialised national economy as compared with 582½ million roubles in 1930.

i) The means for education, for the cadres, for scientific purposes, for health maintenance and social purposes are to be fixed at 6,500 million roubles, as against 5,000 million in the previous year.

7. Financial Plan.

1. To confirm the uniform financial plan (budget, credit system and some of the economic organisations), amounting to 31,100 million roubles on the credit side and to 29,600 million roubles on the debit side (including thereunder the State budget amounting to 21,200 million roubles revenue and 19,100 million roubles expenditure), provided that the revenue exceeds the expenditure and a reserve fund of 1,500 million roubles is created.

2. In view of the fact that, a) the successes of socialist planned economy have rendered it, possible in the sphere of finance to go over to the system of a uniform financial plan, embracing all means of the country for investment in fixed capital, for complementing the factory capital of socialised economy, for cultural purposes, for the administration and defence of the Soviet Union; b) that the uniform financial plan embraces round 2/3 of the total national income and employs these means for socialist construction; c) that the successful carrying out of the financial plan and budget is immediately dependent upon the fulfilment of all quantitative and qualitative tasks in all branches of national construction; d) that unless the financial plan is strictly observed it is impossible to realise

the economic plans set for all branches of national economy — the Plenum considers it necessary to strengthen considerably the work of all financial organs, to introduce the strictest financial discipline and regime of economy, in no circumstances to exceed the proposed income, to make the confirmation of expenditure of every organisation directly dependent upon the fulfilment of the production and financial plans, to consolidate the Chervonetz and to conduct a firm fight against any under-estimation of the role and importance of the financial system in the given stage of socialist construction.

III.

The solution of the great tasks which the economic plan sets for 1931 depends to a considerable extent upon the considerable successes achieved in the past two years of the Five-Year Plan, especially in the economic year 1929/30. Although the annual plan for 1930 was not completely carried out in every part, the original proposals of the Five-Year Plan for the past economic year were considerably exceeded. As a result, there have been created the preconditions for the further acceleration of the tempo in socialist construction, together with the industrialisation of the rural districts and the collectivisation of agriculture.

It would, however, be a great mistake if one were to assume that these tremendous tasks can be solved "by themselves", "spontaneously". There are great difficulties in the way of their solution, to overcome which the greatest organisation and discipline, determined improvement of the quality of labour in all parts of the State economic and co-operative apparatus, the further increase of the activity and the working enthusiasm of the workers (socialist competition, shock brigades, production and financial plans of the factory workers) are necessary.

The year 1931 is decisive for the realisation of the slogan, "Five-Year Plan in four years". The maximum attention and energy must be concentrated on the unconditional fulfilment of the draft plan in all its parts, and especially its qualitative features (reduction of overhead charges in industry, reduction of building costs, increase of the output of labour, of the yield of the harvests, improvement of labour in transport, improvement of quality of production etc.)

The working class and its Party must in particular pay attention to the fulfilment of the tasks in the Plan for coal mining, metal production, cattle breeding and for making good the weak spots in the national economy, in railway and water transport.

Our country, in which the socialist section plays an absolutely dominating role in the national economy, has entered the period of developed socialist offensive, the period of Socialism. The year 1931 will be a year of fresh achievements, of fresh and great successes of Socialism in the fight against capitalism. The carrying out of the Plan in the sphere of collectivisation will give to the socialist elements the absolute preponderance over the capitalist elements in the village; will consolidate the alliance of the workers and of the toiling masses of the peasantry and complete the construction of the foundation of a socialist economy in the Soviet Union. It will be a victory of world historical importance.

The national economy of the Soviet Union stands immediately before the completion of the magnificent plan of socialist construction, of the Five-Year Plan. The prospect of the decisive victory will arouse fresh enthusiasm and give a fresh incentive to the workers and peasants. It will at the same time however also increase the hatred and the fury of our class enemies. This is the reason why the remnants of capitalism within the Soviet Union are offering desperate resistance (resistance of the kulaks, sabotage etc.). It is also the reason why international capitalism is making such feverish preparations for armed intervention against the Soviet Union. In this situation of intensified class struggle the maximum mobilisation of the creative forces of the working class, of the collective farmers and of all toilers is necessary to overcome the difficulties which stand in the way of socialist construction, of the realisation of the slogan: "Five-Year Plan in four years". In this situation it is necessary that we on our side exert all our forces in order to promote further the industrialisation of the country, the advance of socialist construction and to strengthen the defensive capacity of the Soviet Union.

Decision of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. on the Report of Comrade Mikoyan Concerning the Meat and Vegetable Supply.

Moscow, 22nd December 1930.

The resolution of the joint plenary session of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the report of the People's Commissar for Supplies Comrade Mikoyan concerning the meat and vegetable supplies, reads as follows:

After having solved the grain problem successfully, the Party has already achieved the first successes on this basis in the organisation of socialist cattle-breeding. In the year 1930 the great breeding farms of the cattle trust, the sheep trust and the pig trust had 1,012,000 head of cattle, 2,680,000 sheep, and 177,000 pigs. Further, smaller State farms and suburban co-operative farms had 106,200 head of cattle. These successes make it possible to develop cattle-breeding in the collective farms on a wide scale, so that by the end of 1931 the cattle trust will have 2,800,000 head of cattle, the sheep trust 4,400,000 sheep, and the pig trust 1,900,000 pigs, whilst the co-operative farms will then have 130,000 pigs for breeding purpose and 1,200,000 pigs for fattening.

The task put forward by the XVI. Party Congress that in a year the meat supply must be guaranteed, and the task of utilising all existing possibilities in order to organise in this year already a good supply of meat for the most important industrial centres, demand the same mobilisation and concentration of the forces of the Party and of the working class for the meat supply as was previously demanded for the grain supply.

The plenary session considers the work of the Supply Commissariat with regard to the Union organisation of the meat industry, and the Union organisation of the fruit and vegetable supply, to be insufficient. The C.C. and the C.C.C. are of the opinion that hostile elements have penetrated into the apparatus for the Union organisation of the meat industry and into the apparatus for the Union organisation of the fruit and vegetable supply. The plenary session is of the opinion that the work of these organs must be radically transformed, that they must be freshened up with new elements, and that in the shortest space of time all traces of sabotage activity in these organs must be liquidated.

The plenary session instructs the Supply Commissariat of the Soviet Union and also the local Party organisations to carry out the cattle-breeding plans by the 1st April 1931 by at least 70 per cent, and to take all possible measures immediately in order to speed up the work and to prevent cattle diseases, etc. The plenary session instructs the Political Bureau to send 100 responsible officials and a group of members of the C.C. and the C.C.C. for one or two months to the provinces with a view to supporting the local Party organisations in their work for the carrying out of the meat supply plans, and further, to consolidate in the shortest possible space of time the apparatus of the Union organisation of the meat industry with bolshevist cadres.

The plenary session instructs the State Planning Commission and the Supply Commissariat of the Soviet Union to draw up a thorough plan within three months for the development of the meat industry. This plan must contain the chief types of the meat combines and also their venue in accordance with the demands of the meat supply for the workers. The plan must also contain the possibilities of the development of the meat industry. The beginning of building work on two great combinations of the meat industry in Moscow and Semipalatinsk must be the basis for a broad development of the new meat industry in the Soviet Union.

The C.C. and the C.C.C. also record deficiencies in the vegetable supply, deficiencies due chiefly to the inadequacy of the supply apparatus which also contained until quite recently hostile and foreign elements. The development of the socialised sector and the extension of the potato and vegetable areas can guarantee the supply of the workers and also the vegetable demands of industry as early as 1931. The plenary session instructs the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union to place the areas under potatoes and vegetables in the individual districts in such a way that the local demand can be satisfied by suburban production without necessitating the fetching of supplies over long distances.

Within an area of 25 Versts around the main industrial centres, vegetable growing should take precedence over all other forms of agriculture. Special attention must be paid to the development of the suburban vegetable farms and the plan of the co-operatives must be guaranteed for an area of 300,000 hectares.

The plenary session instructs the Supply Commissariat of the Soviet Union to reorganise the whole system of Union organisation for fruit and vegetables and to consolidate the apparatus by drawing in new forces. The Supply Commissariat and the Agricultural Commissariat of the Soviet Union must take all measures necessary to provide the already existing vegetable packing factories and those in course of building with the necessary supplies of raw material. These factories must be laid down in districts in which agriculture is determined by the necessity of supplying these factories with raw materials. The plenary session commissions the local Party organisations in the districts in question to control during the next two months all the leading officials of the vegetable supply apparatus and to consolidate this apparatus by providing it with new assistants.

Decision of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. on the Reports of Comrades Kalinin and Mo'otov Concerning the Soviet Elections.

Moscow, 23rd December 1930.

The resolution adopted by the joint plenary session of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission on the reports of Comrades Kalinin and Molotov on the new Soviet elections, reads, inter alia, as follows:

The political significance of the new Soviet elections is that they represent an important instrument for a radical transformation of the whole work of the Soviets in accordance with the tasks of the constructive period. This transformation can only take place on the basis of an increase of the role of the Soviets as the standard bearer of the general policy of the Communist Party which irreconcilably opposes both the Right and "left"-wing opportunists.

The policy approved by the Party Congress for a broad socialist advance on the whole front is being carried out successfully and is consolidating more and more the alliance of the working class with the peasantry whose main masses have entered on the path of collectivisation. At the same time the forms of the resistance of the capitalist elements (Kulaks, Nepmen and bourgeois intellectuals) are intensifying. The more successful the work of the proletariat for the building up of socialism, the more will the hopes of the counter-revolutionary elements be pinned on an intervention by the foreign imperialist powers. The answer of the workers and peasants to the imperialist preparations for intervention must be intensified efforts to advance socialism along the whole line and to strengthen the defensive capacities of the Soviet Union.

The new Soviet elections must take place under the slogans of the 16th Party Congress and of the present joint plenary session. The elections must consolidate the unity, the proletarian solidarity and co-operation of the peoples of the Soviet Union, and develop their culture in a national form and with a proletarian content.

The process of transforming small-scale production and replacing it by collective agricultural undertakings creates a new productive basis for the Soviet power in the villages, the basis of large-scale production. This makes it possible to apply all the internal and external advantages at the disposal of the proletarian dictatorship for the victory of socialism. In order to carry out this transformation, the Soviets must support themselves in their whole work on the mass activity which is developing in new forms, on the shock group workers in the factories, and on the collectivist peasants in the villages.

The Leninist Party policy must be carried out absolutely without right or left-wing deviations in the practice of the Soviets, and above all in the activity of the leading Soviet organs. In a period of broad-scale socialist offensive there can be no place in the leading Soviet organs for right-wing opportunists and unprincipled conciliators. The role of the Soviets in the practical carrying out of the general line of the Party and in the whole work of socialist construction can

only be increased on the basis of a really irreconcilable struggle against right-wing opportunism which has made itself felt not only in the local Soviets, but also in the central organs of the State apparatus.

The new Soviet elections must result in a radical improvement of the composition of the Soviets. The best shock group workers and collectivist peasants must have the first place in the new Soviets.

With regard to the development of proletarian democracy the Soviet State has achieved considerable success. The development of the socialist competitive scheme in the factories and the collective agricultural undertakings, and the counter-production plans set up by the masses, were the expression of the newest and highest forms of Soviet democracy. It is necessary to develop the control from below of the workers and peasants over the work of the State apparatus. It is also necessary to increase the activity of the Soviets for the satisfaction of the daily needs of the workers (housing, communal undertakings etc.). Apart from the strengthening of the discipline and responsibility of the State organs, a decisive and persistent struggle against bureaucracy must be conducted on the basis of proletarian self-criticism. The new Soviet elections represent one of the most important instruments for the development of Soviet democracy, in other words for the strengthening of the activity of the masses in the work of socialist construction.

This is particularly necessary because the working class is now fighting to carry out the tasks of the third year of the Five-Year Plan, the decisive year for the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan in four years. The active participation of all the toilers in the elections will guarantee a transformation in the work of the Soviets and will be an extremely important step towards increasing the role of the Soviets in the practical carrying out of the policy of Lenin.

The Moscow Party Organisation on the Decisions of the C. C. and the C. C. C.

Moscow, 25th December 1930.

Yesterday's meeting of the functionaries of the Moscow Party organisation of the C. P. S. U. discussed the results of the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and C. C. C. Comrade Kaganovitch delivered the report. The meeting unanimously adopted the following resolution:

The meeting of functionaries of the Moscow district organisation fully and completely approves all the decisions adopted by the Joint Plenum. In the course of the six months which have passed since the XVI. Party Congress, the Party, under the leadership of its Leninist Central Committee, has achieved tremendous successes in socialist construction and in exceeding the proposals of the Five-Year Plan in all branches of national economy in spite of the fierce resistance of the class enemy and its Right opportunist and Trozkyist agency. Owing to these achievements and the rate of development already attained, the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan in four years is already assured. All these achievements irrefutably confirm the fact that we have successfully entered the period of Socialism.

The functionaries of the Moscow organisation call the attention of the whole Moscow district organisation to the tremendous economic tasks which the Plenum has set for the year 1931. The control figures confront the Moscow district with the task — in addition to a powerful development of the industrial building activity and the reconstruction of the already existing big factories (Bobriki power station, Moscow coal basin, "Amo" works etc.) — in regard to agriculture, to convert the district from a grain importing district into a powerful base for cattle breeding, dairy farming and flax cultivation.

The solution of this tremendous task is only possible by means of an enhanced activity of the workers and the toiling masses, the development of the shock brigade movement and socialist competition, the elaboration of counter-plans, of accelerated training of cadres, the ruthless suppression of all resistance on the part of the kulaks, a broad offensive against the capitalist elements on the whole front and the struggle against the kulak agency inside the ranks of the Party. The functionaries' meeting approves the Bolshevik decision of the Joint Plenum in regard to the questions of workers' supplies. The solution of the grain problem, the development of the

agricultural raw material sources, the commenced solution of the cattle breeding problem as well as the enhanced development of light industry will result already in the course of the year in the growth of the State and co-operative commodity fund by 25 to 30 per cent. and thereby indubitably ensure a considerable improvement of the food supply of the workers and toiling masses. For this purpose it is necessary thoroughly to reform the supply organs and in particular the co-operatives whose work is inadequate. The whole of the co-operative work must be brought in harmony with the realisation of the production plan (in the first place in regard to the supplies to the most important industrial districts, granting premiums to the shock brigade workers etc.) and the class principle must be consistently adhered to in regard to supplies. It is necessary to distribute correctly the existing commodities on the basis of the class principle, to establish a real control of the working masses over the whole distributive system and ruthlessly to purge the whole distributive system of all saboteurs and anti-class bureaucratic elements as well as of all opportunists. The work of all Party organisations shall be concentrated on carrying out this fighting task laid down by the Joint Plenum.

The functionaries' meeting places on record the tremendous importance of the decision of the Plenum regarding the Soviet elections. The realisation of this decision will bring about a radical turn in the whole work of the Soviet organs. The Soviets and the whole Soviet apparatus must become to a greater extent than hitherto a real instrument for the realisation of the general line of the Party. This is only possible on the basis of a determined struggle against "Left" deviations, against the lack of initiative in the work and in the whole practice of the Soviet activity. The existence of Right opportunist and unprincipled conciliatory elements in various Soviet organs, reaching as far as into the leading bodies hinders the mobilisation of the toiling masses (which constitute enormous forces and the auxiliary sources of the Soviet apparatus in the service of the general line of the Party) and thereby hampers the realisation of this line in practice. This enables the counter-revolutionaries and saboteurs to carry out their manoeuvres in various sections of the Soviet apparatus, as has been clearly revealed by the trial of the "Industrial Party". The meeting emphasises that the control of the actual carrying out of the Party and government decisions, as well as the consolidation of discipline, must be the main tasks of the work of the Soviet apparatus. The instructions of the Plenum regarding the purging of the leading Soviet organs of opportunist and conciliatory elements must be carried out with all determination and ruthlessness. The Soviet election campaign which has commenced must become a powerful factor in urging the Soviets upon the path of socialist reconstruction, in a determined reorganisation of the work of all Soviet organs from top to bottom and raising the role of the Soviets in the carrying out of the general line of the Party.

The decision of the Plenum regarding relieving Comrade Rykov of his duties as member of the Polit-Bureau and as chairman of the Council of the People's Commissars is fully approved by the meeting. The functionaries' meeting welcomes the nomination of Comrade Molotov, this steadfast leader and fighter for the Leninist general line of the Party, to the post of chairman of the Council of Peoples' Commissars of the Soviet Union.

The Party has achieved the tremendous successes in socialist construction by ruthlessly overcoming the resistance of the class enemies and their agents, the opportunists, in the ranks of the Party, by the energetic struggle on two fronts: against Right opportunism as the main danger and against the "Left" opportunists. The Party has still further consolidated its ranks on the basis of the complete ideological and organisational shattering of the Right and "Left" opportunists and the crushing of the leaders of the Right opportunists. The Party will also in the future deal an annihilating Bolshevik blow to any kind of opportunist vacillations and deviations and any kind of conciliatory tendency. The Party will not be content with the declarations of the former opportunists regarding their agreement with the general line of the Party and will demand of them real Bolshevik work and a real fight for the carrying out of the Party line. In the solution of the tremendous tasks set the whole Party by the Plenum, the Moscow Party organisation will also in the future remain the most faithful support of the Leninist C. C. and under its

leadership weld together the working class and the toiling masses on the basis of the slogans of the XVI. Party Congress for the developed socialist advance along the whole front. Every new stage of socialist construction is producing ever fresh victories, ever fresh proofs of the correctness of the general line of the C. P. S. U.

The meeting sent the warmest greetings to the Leninist C. C. and its General Secretary, Comrade Stalin.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Tenth Anniversary of the Electrification Plan.

In December 1920 the eighth congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union adopted the so-called Goelro plan, the plan for the electrification of the Soviet Union. On the tenth anniversary of the adoption of this historic plan the Lenin Institute publishes the following letter of comrade Stalin to Lenin. The letter was written in March 1921. The underlining was made not by Stalin, but by Lenin himself after the receipt of the letter.

Ed. "Inprecorr".

During the last three days I was able to read the complete "Plan for the Electrification of Russia". Sicknes assisted (it's an ill wind . . .). A splendid, excellently compiled book. A masterly draft of a really **uniform** and really **centralised** plan **without inverted commas**. A marxist attempt, unparalleled in our time, to give the soviet superstructure of economically backward Russia a really practical and under the existing circumstances, the only possible basis of production. Remember last year's "plan" of Trotzky's (his theses) concerning "the economic rebirth" of Russia on the basis of the mass application of labour power of the unskilled **peasant** and working masses ("Labour Army") on the ruins of pre-war industry! What a miserable idea, what backwardness in comparison with the Goelro plan! A mediaeval handworker who imagines himself an Ibsen hero destined to save Russia by an ancient saga. . . . How much are the dozens of "uniform plans" worth which appear in our press to our shame — childishness! Or, the petty-bourgeois "realism" (in reality, Manilovtchina) (Manilov was a petty-bourgeois type famous in Russian novels. Ed. "Inprecorr"). The Rykovs who still criticise the Goelro and are up to the ears in bureaucratic routine.

My opinion is:

1. there is not a minute further to be lost with useless chatter about the plan;

2. we must begin at once to put the plan into **practical operation**;

3. in the interests of the **practical carrying out** of this plan we must devote at least one-third of our work (two-thirds must be devoted to "current" needs) to the provision of men and material, the reconstruction of the factories, the division of the labour power at our disposal, the supply of food and other necessities for the workers engaged on the plan, the organisation of supply bases, and the supply itself, etc.

4. as with all their good points the directors of the Goelro lack a certain healthy practicalness (a certain professorial impotence makes itself felt in their articles), they must be given co-operators in the "Plan Commission" who are men of practical action accustomed to work according to the principles, "instructions carried out!", "tasks to be carried out" within time set!" etc.

5. the "Pravda", the "Isvestia", and in particular, the "Ekonomicheskaya Zhisn" must undertake to popularise the "Electrification Plan" both in its fundamentals and in its concrete details on the various fields of work. This popularisation must be carried out from the point of view that there is **only one**, "uniform economic plan" — the "Electrification Plan", and that all other "plans" represent nothing but empty and wasteful chatter.

Yours,

Stalin.

March 1921.

Comrade Molotov Chairman of Council of Commissars.

Moscow, 20th December 1930.

At the request of comrade **Rykov** the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union has relieved Rykov from his duties as Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet-Union and as Chairman of the Council of Labour and Defence. Comrade Vyatcheslav **Molotov** has been appointed in Rykov's place.

Comrade **Molotov** was born in 1890 and has been a member of the Bolshevist Party since 1906. He took an active part in the revolutionary work of the Party, was imprisoned six times and banished twice. After the first revolution in March 1917 he was elected chairman of the bolshevist fraction in the Petersburg Soviet. After the November revolution he occupied a series of prominent posts. Since 1921 he has been a secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and since 1924 a member of its Political Bureau and a member of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Persecution of Militant Workers in America.

By J. Louis Engdahl (New York).

Under the so-called "criminal syndicalist" laws, adopted in California in the post-war year (1919) of red-baiting hysteria, hundreds were thrown into prison for long terms, until in recent years (1929) Yetta Stromberg, the 19-year-old Pioneer Leader at the Yucaipa Children's Camp, was arrested, convicted and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, while the leaders of the Imperial Valley agricultural workers' struggles have this year been railroaded to prison up to as high as 42-year sentences, life sentences, since no prisoner survives 42 years in the black holes of Folsom and San Quentin. This was the boss class reply to the first real struggles of America's agrarian workers.

The struggle is organized and grows for the liberation of these Imperial Valley prisoners, Carl Sklar, organiser of the Los Angeles Communist Party; Tetsuji Horiuchi, Japanese organiser of the Trade Union Unity League; Oscar Erickson, national secretary of the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union; Lawrence Emery, of the Marine Workers' Industrial Union; Frank Spector, Los Angeles organiser of the International Labour Defence; Danny Roxas, Imperial Valley secretary of the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union; Eduardo Herrera and Braulio Orosco, both Mexican workers.

The slogans of this struggle are being raised by the workers of Latin America on the second anniversary this month of the massacre of 1,500 men, women and children of the fruit plantations of Colombia, South America when the workers went on strike, against the United Fruit Company, an American monopoly, but were shot down by the gendarmerie of the local puppet government.

"Free the Imperial (Death) Valley Prisoners!" is an amalgam knitting the unity of both North and South American workers, and building the demand for the release of **Mooney** and **Billings**, **McNamara** and **Schmidt**, the Centralia, the Portland, the Atlanta prisoners, as well as other victims of capitalist class justice, that now number into the hundreds, the majority of whom are in prisons in the three Pacific Coast states of Washington, Oregon and California, especially in "The Golden State".

It is not a far cry from the banana plantations of Colombia, soil stained red with the life's blood of slaughtered workers, and California, where Negro and Mexican, Filipino, Hindu and native white workers slave under the same lash on huge farms that produce lettuces in January and February, canteloupes in June and July, watermelons in July and August, as well as other minor crops the year around.

The brutalizing conditions that have forced numerous strikes in "The Valley", in 1917, 1922, 1928, and in January, February and June, of 1930, are to be found in other sections

of the state where California produces 90 per cent of the nation's grape crop; one-third of the total crop of pears and peaches, and out of its "Death Valley" comes all the borax mined in the country. California is ten times as large in area although it has about the same population as Switzerland. This population includes upwards of 100,000 Japanese with about 30,000 Chinese. The number of agricultural workers drifting in from Mexico increases. California is developing the growing of cotton. Exploitation increases. Working class resistance grows.

El Centro, largest city of Imperial Valley, an inferno for workers in the fields during the tropic heat of midsummer, becomes a pleasure resort in winter for parasites from the nation over. April 14, 1930 saw Mexican, Filipino, Negro and native white workers gathered in a mass meeting. Speakers from each race and nationality told of their grievances in their own language. It was a terrible story of the most brutal sweating of human labour that was interrupted as the doors crashed inwards and police, deputy sheriffs and privately-hired thugs levelled their guns at the workers, who were searched by this armed mob, chained together in groups and loaded into huge trucks; 118 were thrown into the El Centro County Jail.

In an atmosphere reminiscent of the vengeful days when Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were placed on trial in a Massachusetts court under guard of soldiery, to be railroaded to death, these Imperial Valley workers were also brought to trial. Protests of workers against this vicious proceeding were savagely attacked and broken up by the police. There were numerous deportations, especially of Mexican workers. The most extreme sentences up to 42 years in prison, were finally passed against eight of the prisoners.

These "death sentences" with the refusal of freedom for Mooney and Billings reveal clearly the developing attack of organised business against the working class. During all these 20 years, since John B. McNamara first went to prison for life, Hiram W. Johnson, the so-called "progressive" republican, has been United States senator from California. He has been the "progressive" mask behind which the murderous reaction has advanced in its attacks against labour.

The fight for the freedom of the Imperial Valley prisoners, and for the liberation of all victims of capitalist class justice, grows into the drive for the repeal of the vicious "criminal syndicalist" laws, and a counter-offensive against the political regime of California's black reaction.

Finnish Fascism's Extermination-Campaign against the Workers' Organisations.

By H. K. (Helsingfors).

** The Finnish working class is living at present under very difficult conditions. The capitalist world crisis is making itself felt more and more in the as yet feebly developed industry of Finland, and as a result the brutal profit-hunting exploiters are in a perfect frenzy. They are no longer willing to wait for the "golden future". The most important industry of our country has been brought almost to a standstill by the crisis. Tens of thousands of workers have been thrown on to the street, and as they do not receive any unemployment relief they are exposed to the greatest misery and want. The workers who are still employed are living under the greatest terror and unbounded exploitation by the employer. For the greater part of the workers the eight-hour day has long been a thing of the past.

What has been said above applies on the whole to other industries and professions. In agriculture the situation is even worse. The tremendous accentuation of the international agricultural crisis is being more and more seriously felt. Now Finland agriculture is the most important industry, and the agricultural workers, who form the greater part of the population, are living under conditions which are simply indescribable. In addition, thousands of small peasants, owing to the effects of the crisis, are forced to abandon their farms and are likewise delivered over to unemployment and misery.

For the Finnish workers there does not exist even the minimum of social protection known in many other countries of Europe. Social legislation is almost unknown in Finland. About a year ago the big capitalist class, by initiating the

Lappo movement, launched a monstrously brutal attack on the working class. Under the cloak of religion and the slogan of "Annihilation of Communism", the big capitalists succeeded in winning a great part of the politically indifferent peasantry for their aims and inciting them against the workers. The property of the labour organisations was wantonly destroyed by the armed Lappo bandits. The machines in the labour printing works were smashed to pieces and the workers' club premises were either destroyed or closed. Hundreds of men and women were brutally dragged from their homes and driven over the frontiers. Ill-treatment and acts of violence are daily occurrences. The lives and the property of the workers is at the mercy of the arbitrary will of the Lappo bandits.

Everywhere the government authorities have either directly supported or connived at the attacks by the Lappo bandits on the organised workers. In many cases the workers mishandled by the Lappo bandits have been arrested by the police and sentenced to severe penalties by the courts. The workers printing works destroyed by the Lappo bandits have been closed by the police and the newspapers have been suppressed without any legal justification whatever. When the leaders of the Lappo bandits demanded that the workers' representatives be removed from the state parliament and municipal councils, the Government willingly complied with this demand by declaring the entire fraction of the workers and peasants bloc to be a "criminal" body, and in spite of their immunity ordered the arrest of the deputies belonging to this fraction. In order to bring about a "pure representation of the people", Parliament was dissolved by the fascist government and the propaganda activity of the organised working class was forbidden during the election campaign.

The trade union movement of the Finnish workers is particularly hated by the fascists. This movement was also a great hindrance to the employers in their fight against the workers. The employers therefore, with the support of the bourgeois press, commenced a fierce incitement against the trade unions. Already for a long time the activity of the trade unions had been disturbed and hindered by the fascists, who forcibly broke up their meetings. The government used this circumstance as a pretext for instituting an "Inquiry" and afterwards ordering the dissolution of the Finnish trade unions. The Finnish Trade Union Federation is accused of having continued to maintain illegally the Socialist Labour Party which was dissolved by the government seven years ago. The Helsingfors district court has confirmed the prohibition of the trade unions announced by the government.

In this period of increased attacks by the exploiting class against the trade union movement, the Finnish social fascists have done everything in order to destroy the militant Trade Union Federation. They endeavoured with all the means at their disposal to split the trade union-organised workers. When they failed to achieve this they founded their own organisation which in every way supports the authorities in their fight against the workers.

The Finnish working class, however, will know how to fight for the maintenance of their movement and for the defence of what they have once achieved. In this fight they appeal to the class-conscious workers of Europe. A complete victory of the Finnish fascists would render more easy the victory of fascism in other countries. The Finnish workers are convinced that the class-conscious European proletariat does not desire this, and they will, in spite of all hindrances and in spite of the tremendous difficulties, bravely maintain their position in the army of the international proletariat.

The trial of the action brought by the government against the Trade Union Federation is to be held on February 3 in Helsingfors. As, however, it is almost impossible under the present conditions to obtain a lawyer within the country who will undertake the defence in such a trial, the Finnish workers here also look to the European proletariat for assistance. It would be a very good thing if the workers' organisations of the other capitalist countries were to send their own lawyers to defend the accused organisations. These lawyers would be able to convey to the workers of their own countries important information regarding conditions in Finland, the land of white terror and fascism. The sorely tried Finnish proletariat reckons on the active support of its class comrades in the other countries in fight for the maintenance and defence of its trade unions.

Proletarian Commemoration Days

Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Revolution of 1905

We publish below the theses issued by the Cultural-Propagandist Department of the C.C. of the CPS.U. and of the Lenin Institute on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Revolution of 1905. Editor.

I. Introduction.

1. To-day, when the Soviet Union has already entered the phase of Socialism and in our country the question: "who—whom" is being ultimately settled in the last ruthless class struggles, when in connection with the development of the socialist offensive on the whole front against the capitalist elements, with the liquidation of the kulaks as a class by means of complete collectivisation, the class struggle is assuming sharper forms, the lessons of the heroic struggle of the proletariat in the period of the revolution of 1905 acquire an enormous importance for the education of new million cadres of fighters for Socialism and for the overthrow of the exploiters in the whole world.

"We must openly declare . . . the Labour Party considers the immediate revolutionary struggle of the masses, the October and December fights of the year 1905 as the most powerful movement of the proletariat since the Commune; we must declare that only the development of such forms can guarantee the future success of the revolution, that these model examples must serve as our guiding star in the education of new generations of fighters," (Lenin, Volume XII, Russian.)

For Lenin the revolution of 1905 was the greatest movement of the proletariat since the Commune, that model example of revolutionary struggle which should serve us as guiding star in the education of new revolutionary fighters. Therefore, the Party and the working class of the Soviet Union observe as the 25th anniversary of the first Revolution those days when the heroic revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against absolutism reached its highest point, the days of the armed uprising in December.

The experiences and lessons of the October and December days of 1905 were of enormous importance for the struggle of the proletariat and of the peasantry led by it in the year 1917.

" . . . without the general rehearsal of 1905 the victory of the October Revolution in 1917 would have been impossible." (Lenin, Volume XXV.)

The working class of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of its Bolshevik Party and its Central Committee, is at present conducting a great socialist offensive on the whole front and carrying out the policy of liquidating the kulak as a class on the basis of complete collectivisation.

A survey of the experiences of the 1905 revolution, in particular the extraordinary role of Lenin in the building up of our Party and his struggle for revolutionary Bolshevism, brilliantly confirms the thesis that the present policy of our Party and its Leninist Central Committee constitutes the development and continuation of the theory and practice of Bolshevism in a new situation. Precisely in this period Lenin laid the foundation stone of his teachings on the alliance between the proletariat and the toiling masses of the peasantry, on the conversion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into the socialist revolution, the thesis on the Soviets, their role and importance in the struggle and reconstruction of economy on the "warring Party" the advance-guard, on the fight on two fronts and the struggle against conciliatory tendencies. It is exceedingly important to study the armed uprising in December, when the proletariat of Tsarist Russia for the first time in history fought upon the barricades to overthrow absolutism and for the victory of the democratic revolution which was to create the preconditions for the struggle for the socialist revolution.

2. The experiences of the revolution of 1905 had and still have a great international importance, for the interests of Tsarism and of Western imperialism were closely bound up; "for those who wished to deal a blow to Tsarism, inevitably had to strike at imperialism; those who revolted against Tsarism, had also to rise in revolt against Imperialism" (Stalin).

" . . . We must", wrote Lenin, "set up practical slogans not only for the event of the revolution extending to Europe, but also for such an extension." (Lenin, Volume VIII)

The Russian Revolution exercised an enormous revolutionising influence upon the majority of the West-European countries. Still greater was the influence of the Russian revolution of 1905 upon the revolutionary movement in the colonial countries of the East—Turkey, Persia, China etc.

While the heroic revolutionary struggle conducted 25 years ago has helped the Russian proletariat to close its ranks and to create in the Bolshevik Party its disciplined Leninist cohort, which is steeled in fire, and is leading the proletariat from victory to victory; while the experiences of the revolution of 1905 taught the proletariat to fight its class enemies during the period between the two revolutions (1905—1917) and in the period of the proletarian dictatorship and to vanquish them, the study of the lessons of this struggle is still today the most important task, in particular for the proletariat in the capitalist countries as well as in the colonies and semi-colonies. The estimation of the driving forces of revolutions and the establishment of correct mutual relations between the proletariat, the hegemon of the revolution, and the broad peasant revolutionary reserves led by it, must be the subject of careful study, especially in those countries where great importance attaches to the revolutionary peasant masses (China, India etc.). Hence the strategy and tactics of the Russian proletariat and its Bolshevik Party in the year 1905 (as well as in the following struggles, in particular in the year 1917), must be brought to the knowledge of the proletariat and the revolutionary peasantry of all countries.

It must finally not be forgotten that the revolution of 1905 is closely bound up with the post-war situation following the Russo-Japanese war.

It is of greatest importance in the present situation to study the attitude of our Party to this war, which broke out as a result of the Tsarist robber-policy in the Far East, and therefore determined the Party's defeatist slogans (this is still) more important for the study of the imperialist war 1914/18).

The feverish preparations of the imperialists for war the enormous increase in armaments, the direct preparation of the leading circles of France for a new intervention against the Soviet Union, which were revealed by the trial of the "Industrial Party", render it incumbent on the brother parties and the whole international proletariat to study carefully the tactics of Bolshevism in the struggle against imperialist wars and the conversion of imperialist war into civil war.

II. The Social and Economic Preconditions of the Revolution.

3. As is known, the revolution of 1905 was essentially a bourgeois-democratic revolution. It did not set up as its immediate aim the realisation of the socialist upheaval. Its main task was the liquidation of Tsarism and of the whole landlord-feudal superstructure which was a hindrance to the economic and political development of Russia. In order however to be able to understand the social and economic preconditions and to be clear as to the decisive meaning of the maturing revolutionary events; it is necessary to realise: firstly that Lenin considered the revolution of 1905 to be a bourgeois-peasant revolution, and secondly it is necessary to emphasise that the struggle against Tsarism was conducted under the leadership of the revolutionary working class; that

precisely the proletariat was the decisive driving force of the revolution of 1905; that to it fell the historic mission of being the hegemon in the great emancipation struggle of the revolutionary masses of Tsarist Russia. This circumstance characterised the methods and the final aims of the struggle.

Lenin emphasised this circumstance with all clearness in many of his works. In his report on the revolution of 1905, which he delivered at the beginning of 1917 in Zürich, he declared:

"The peculiarity of the Russian revolution consists precisely in the fact, that according to its social content it was a bourgeois-democratic revolution; according to its fighting means a proletarian one. It was bourgeois-democratic, as the immediate aim for which it was striving and which was achievable with its own forces was the democratic Republic, the eight-hour day, the confiscation of the big landed estates of the aristocracy, i.e., all measures which the bourgeois revolution in France in the years 1792 and 1793 almost completely realised.

The Russian revolution was at the same time a proletarian revolution, not only insofar as the proletariat constituted the leading force, the advance-guard of the movement, but also in that the specific proletarian fighting means, the strike, constituted the chief means for arousing the masses and was the most characteristic feature in the wave-like maturing of the decisive events." (Lenin, Vol. XX.)

According to Lenin, the first task of the revolution of 1905 was the struggle of the working class for the overthrow of Tsarist absolutism and of the remnants of serfdom, and then after the victory of the proletariat in the democratic revolution, in the second stage of the revolution, to go over to the fight against the whole capitalist order, for Socialism. In the first stage of the revolution in the village the knot was tied which had to be cut through in order to exterminate the remnants of feudalism, which would create the pre-conditions for the conversion of the bourgeois revolution into the socialist revolution. The object of the fight was the big landed estates from the time of serfdom.

The removal and annihilation of the remnants of serfdom in Russia were possible in two ways. One way was that of reforms, the slow and painful growth of the peasantry and of the big landed estates based on serfdom into bourgeois landed estates of the junkers, the so-called "Prussian" type of development.

This does not mean that the Party and the proletariat way as Lenin called it), which forcibly abolished the semi-feudal forms of land ownership.

To the two ways of capitalist development, to the two methods of liquidating the remnants of serfdom in the pre-revolutionary village, there corresponded two contending blocs: on the one side the proletariat and the peasantry led by it, and on the other the landowners and the bourgeoisie. The attempts of Tsarism, on the eve of the revolution of 1905, to reform the village, and a number of concessions of the liberal bourgeoisie aimed at extending the social basis of Tsarism and to guide Russia's development into a "Prussian" path. This was precisely the object of the agrarian programme of the parties of the bourgeoisie and the landowners during the revolution of 1905/07.

The working class fought in alliance with the peasantry for the revolutionary solution of the maturing contradictions, for the complete liquidation of all and any feudal remnants.

This does not mean that the Party and the proletariat only set themselves the task of fighting for the "American" development, "for the bourgeoisie which is getting peaceful" (Lenin). The Party endeavoured to drive the revolution as far as possible and thereby to secure the conditions for the conversion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into the socialist revolution. **The proletariat fought for the establishment of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and of the peasantry.** The task of this dictatorship was not the establishment of a "new bourgeois order", but the organisation of a "new war" against the bourgeoisie, for the socialist revolution. The socialist revolution in October incidentally completed the tasks of the democratic revolution and thereby settled the question of the "American" development. The victorious socialist revolution created the preconditions for the socialist development of agriculture on the basis of socialist industry, on the basis of complete collectivisation and the annihilation of the kulak as a class. (To be continued.)

Thirteen Years of the Cheka.

The Origin of the Cheka.

Lenin's Letter to Dzershinsky.

On December 19, 1917, Lenin wrote to Dzershinsky a letter saying:

"May we not put forward a plan of fighting counter-revolutionaries and saboteurs?"

"The bourgeoisie, the landlords and all wealthy classes are desperately exerting their efforts to upset the revolution, the object of which is to secure the interests of the workers, the interests of the exploited working masses."

"The bourgeoisie does not stop at the worst crimes. It bribes the dregs of society and the most degenerate elements and organises them for pogroms. The friends of the bourgeoisie, especially the higher bank officials, etc., are sabotaging. They organise strikes to prevent the government from carrying through its measures towards social transformation. They even sabotage the distribution of food supplies, threatening millions of the people with starvation."

"Extraordinary measures of struggle against the counter-revolutionaries and saboteurs are necessary. In view of this, the Council of People's Commissars resolves. . ."

Then follows a detailed outline of concrete measures.

A Historical Decree.

On December 20th, the Council of People's Commissars

issued a decree about the organisation of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission. That decree said:

"The Commission is to be known as the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission of the Council of People's Commissars to be in charge of the struggle against counter-revolution and sabotage." The tasks of the Commission will be:

"1. To prosecute and to root out all counter-revolutionary and sabotage attempts and acts throughout Russia, no matter who the culprit may be."

"2. To bring before the Revolutionary Tribunal all saboteurs and counter-revolutionaries and to work out the means of combating them."

"3. The Commission will only have charge of the preliminary investigations insofar as this is essential to stop the activities. The measures to be taken are — confiscation of property and ration cards, publication of the names of the enemies of the people."

In Retaliation for the White Terror.

Lenin was wounded after the assassination of Volodarsky and Uritsky. Upon this the Council of People's Commissars passed the following decision on September 5, 1918:

"The Council of People's Commissars, having heard a report from the Extraordinary Commission, in charge of the struggle against the counter-revolution, on its activities, finds that in the present situation it is absolutely necessary to

secure the rear by means of terror, that in order to intensify the activities of the Cheka and to make its work more systematic it is necessary to send to that institution the greatest possible number of responsible Party workers, that it is necessary to protect the Soviet Republic against the class enemies by means of their isolation in internment camps, that all persons who have had anything to do with white guard organisations, conspiracies and rebellions have to be shot."

Comrade Stalin on the G.P.U.

On November 5th 1927 a delegation visited Comrade Stalin composed of eighty representatives of labour organisations of Germany, Finland, Denmark and Esthonia. The interview lasted six hours. The delegates asked a series of questions which Comrade Stalin had to answer. One of the French delegates asked a question to the following effect:

The G.P.U. enjoys judicial powers, it tries people without witnesses and without lawyers for the defence, it secretly arrests people. Since such powers are inconceivable to the French mind, it would be interesting to know why they are necessary. Is it intended to alter or restrict them?

Comrade Stalin answered this question as follows:

The G.P.U. or the Cheka is the punitive organ of the Soviet Government. It is more or less similar to the Committee of Public Safety which existed in France during the great revolution. It punishes primarily spies, conspirators, terrorists, bandits, speculators, counterfeits. It is something in the nature of a military-political tribunal set up for the purpose of safeguarding the interests of the revolution against any attempts on the part of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and their agents.

It was set up on the morrow after the October Revolution when all kinds of conspiracies and terroristic and espionage organisations were discovered, organisations financed by Russian and foreign capitalists. It developed and gained in vigour when a number of terroristic acts had been perpetrated against prominent Soviet leaders, after the assassination of Comrade Uritsky, a member of the Revolutionary Committee of Leningrad, killed by a member of the Social Revolutionary Party, after the murder of Comrade Volodarsky, another member of the Revolutionary Committee of Leningrad, who was also killed by a Social Revolutionist, after the attempt on Lenin also by a member of the same Social Revolutionary Party. One must admit that the G.P.U. hit the enemies of the revolution at that time with the skill of sure marksmen and never failed. This, incidentally, has remained the quality of that organisation to this day. Since then the G.P.U. has become the dread of the bourgeoisie, the untiring sentry of the revolution, wielding the unsheathed sword of the proletariat.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the bourgeoisie of all countries hate the G.P.U. so much. All kinds of legends have been invented about the G.P.U. The G.P.U. has been slandered in the most fantastic way. And what does that mean? It means that the G.P.U. properly guards the interests of the Revolution. The avowed enemies of the revolution curse the G.P.U., and from this it follows that the G.P.U. is doing the right thing.

The attitude of the workers to the G.P.U. is quite different. Visit the labour quarters and ask the workers what they think of the G.P.U. . . . you will find that they regard it with respect. Why? Because they see in that organisation the true defender of the revolution.

I can understand why the bourgeoisie hates and distrusts the G.P.U. I can understand the various bourgeois travellers who upon coming to the Soviet Union immediately ask whether the G.P.U. is still alive and as to whether the time has not yet come for its elimination. This can all be easily understood and it is not surprising. But I fail to understand some of the working-class delegates who on coming to the U.S.S.R. ask with alarm as to whether many counter-revolutionaries have been punished by the G.P.U., as to whether the punishment of terrorists and plotters against the proletarian government is still to continue, and is it not time to put a stop to the G.P.U.? Why are some of the working-class delegates so much concer-

ned about the enemies of the proletarian revolution? How is this to be explained? What is its background?

They preach the greatest leniency, they advise us to destroy the G.P.U. . . . But is there any guarantee that the capitalists of all countries will cease organising and financing counter-revolutionary groups of conspirators, terrorists, incendiaries, dynamiters, after the elimination of the G.P.U.? To disarm the revolution without having any guarantees that the foes of the revolution are disarmed — would not that be foolish, would it not be a crime against the working class? No, comrades, we do not want to repeat the mistakes of the Paris Commune. The Communards of Paris were too lenient in relation to the gangs of Versailles, for which Marx quite justly chastised them at the time. And the price they paid for their leniency was that when Thiérs entered Paris, tens of thousands of workers were slain by the Versaillesans. Do the comrades think that the Russian bourgeois and landlords are less bloodthirsty than were the Versaillesans of France? We know, at any rate, how they treated the workers when they occupied Siberia, the Ukraine, North Caucasus in alliance with the French and British, Japanese and American interventionists.

By this, I do not mean to say that the internal situation in the country is such as to call for punitive organs of the revolution. From the viewpoint of the internal situation, the revolution is so firm and invincible that we could well do without the G.P.U. But the trouble is that the internal enemies are not isolated individuals. The trouble is that they are connected in a thousand different ways with the capitalists of all other countries who assist them in every way and by all means. We are a country surrounded by capitalist States. The internal enemies of our revolution are the agents of the capitalists of the other countries. The capitalist States constitute a base and the rear for the internal enemies of our revolution. Combating the enemies at home, we consequently fight against the counter-revolutionary elements of all countries. Judge for yourselves, could we under such conditions dispense with the punitive organs, such as the G.P.U.

No, comrades, we do not want to repeat the mistakes made by the Communards of Paris. The revolution needs the G.P.U. and the G.P.U. is going to live on as the scourge of the enemies of the proletariat.

Why the Bourgeoisie Hates the Extraordinary Commission.

(The Cheka).

Lenin at a meeting of the Cheka on the First Anniversary of the October Revolution.

Comrades:

Celebrating the anniversary of our revolution, I should like to say a few words about the hard work of the Extraordinary Commission.

It is no wonder that we hear not only from our enemies but also from friends making attacks on the activities of the Cheka. Reviewing the activities of the Extraordinary Commission and comparing them with the attacks, I must say that the latter are nothing but talk hardly worth mentioning. It reminds me of Pautsky's sermon on the dictatorship which he deals with from the angle of bourgeois politics. But we are speaking from experience, we know that it requires a very hard struggle to expropriate the bourgeoisie, to establish a dictatorship.

Marx said that between capitalism and Communism there is a period of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. The more the proletariat will bring pressure to bear on the bourgeoisie, the greater will be their resistance. We know how they dealt with the proletariat in France in 1848, and we are surprised to see how people can forget the most elementary principles of Marxism when reproaching us for being severe. We still remember the uprising of the junkers in October, we must not forget the organisation of a number of insurrections. On the one hand we have to learn to perform creative work, and on the other, we have to break the resistance of the bourgeoisie. The White Army of Finland did not hesitate in shooting down the workers of that country, notwithstanding its boasted democracy. The idea

of the need for a dictatorship has deeply penetrated the broad masses, notwithstanding its severity and difficulty. There is no other way of emancipating the masses except through the violent suppression of the exploiters. And that is just what the Cheka is doing, that is its service rendered to the proletariat.

What Gives the G.P.U. its Strength?

Comrade Felix Kohn, an old Polish revolutionary, writing his memoirs about Comrade Dzerzhinsky, the first head of the Cheka—G.P.U., relates an interesting incident taken from the early days of the activities of the Cheka.

"At the time of general Yudenich's march on Petrograd the head of the Petrograd military forces at the time turned out to be a traitor operating under Yudenich's instructions. He was supposed to defend the revolutionary capital.

"He had connections with Yudenich through a certain Frenchman who had accepted Russian citizenship. Through him he sent to Yudenich all the plans of the revolutionary general staff. The Frenchman was assisted in this work by his daughter. Once the daughter lost a package in the street. A Red Army man who happened to pass by picked it up. He opened it and seeing that it contained blue prints he became suspicious that there was something treacherous involved; he stopped the girl who had lost the package and brought her to the Cheka. The conspiracy was thus discovered and the Cheka was able to round up all the plotters.

"The Frenchman brazenly stated during the enquiry:

'You have caught me only thanks to an accident . . .'

'You are mistaken', answered Dzerzhinsky, 'had not the masses been with us, had not each worker and each Red Army man realised that it is not only for the Cheka to unearth plots, but for all workers, then the fact that your daughter dropped the package would not have resulted in the discovery of your plot. Your daughter has accidentally dropped the package, but the Red Army man became interested in it not at all accidentally; it was not by accident that he stopped and arrested her. It is this that makes the Cheka strong.'

Its closest connections with the working masses, the direct participation of the working masses in its work—that is what makes the G.P.U. strong. Millions of workers have always regarded and still regard the work of the Cheka and the G.P.U. their own, they regard it as the work of their class, and they lend their assistance in every possible way. It is thanks to this alone that this sword of the proletarian dictatorship has always successfully fought back the blows of the class enemy and gained for itself merited glory in the struggle against counter-revolution.

ECONOMICS

The Biggest Bank Smash in U. S. History.

By Harry Gannes (New York).

Only a few weeks after President Hoover had praised the soundness of the financial structure of the United States there took place in New York, the financial centre of America, the largest bank crash in the history of Wall Street. The Bank of the United States (a private institution but a member of the Federal Reserve Bank), with 62 branches in New York City and liabilities of over \$265,000,000, closed its doors on Thursday, December 11th.

Most of the branches of this bank were located in the working class sections of New York. Out of the 400,000 depositors at least 300,000 are workers, tens of thousands of whom are unemployed.

The Bank of the United States has been in a very bad condition for a long time. This was known to the directors, who, to overcome this situation, attempted to merge with a number of other important New York banks. The merger failed. For weeks leading bankers in Wall Street met in an attempt to keep the bank from closing up. News of the bad condition was kept secret. One week before the bank closed

Andrew Mellon, secretary of the Treasury of the United States, met with members of the New York Federal Reserve Bank of New York, and the representatives of every other leading bank in New York, in an effort to prevent the closing. Their efforts were fruitless. On Thursday morning tens of thousands of depositors lined up at the doors of every one of the 62 branches of this bank clamoring for their money. The bank was closed and went in the hands of the state bank examiners.

The entire capitalist press of the United States tried to hide the importance of this bank closing.

The failure of this large bank is not an isolated instance. Since the January, 1930, there have been over 800 bank failures involving more than \$ 500,000,000.

In the past ten years there have been 6,382 bank failures in the United States with \$ 2,034,000,000 involved. The following are the statistics of bank failures in the United States since 1921, taken from the December Bulletin of the National City Bank of New York:

Year	Bank Suspensions, 1921-1930					
	Number of Suspensions			Deposits in Millions		
	Total	Member	Non-Member	Total	Member	Non-Member
1921	501	70	431	\$196	\$43	\$154
1922	354	57	297	111	24	86
1923	648	124	524	189	51	138
1924	776	159	617	213	74	139
1925	612	146	466	173	67	106
1926	956	160	796	272	69	204
1927	662	124	538	194	66	128
1928	491	73	418	139	42	96
1929	642	81	561	234	57	177
1930*	740	100	640	312	73	240
Total	6,382	1,094	5,288	\$2,034	\$566	\$1,468

* Ten months to October 31; subject to revision.

In the month of November, 1930, there were over 100 bank failures, with sums amounting to over \$ 100,000,000 involved.

There is little doubt that the failure of the Bank of the United States will be followed by a whole series of other bank failures. In fact, within two days after the closing of this New York bank, eight other banks failed, one in Connecticut involving over \$4,000,000.

The failure of the 800 banks are a reflection of the severity of the economic crisis in the United States. All basic industries are going to lower levels. Steel production is at 38 per cent of capacity; automobile production is very low, with reports printed in the Wall Street Journal that the Ford plants will soon close completely.

Besides a continuation of the downward trend of the stock market the capitalists are greatly disturbed by the big drop in bonds which is now taking place. The "Commercial and Financial Chronicle" (Dec. 6) expresses the worry of the leading financiers over the significance of the drop of the bond market, which reflects the further depths of the economic crisis. This magazine says:

"It is bad enough to see stock prices going all to smash, but when bond prices follow the same destructive course there is reason for the gravest apprehension."

Every other indication points to a worsening of the crisis. Commodity prices are still declining sharply; unemployment is increasing, having increased in the State of New York (according to official figures) 3 per cent in October alone.

The "Journal of Commerce", another leading Wall Street newspaper, says that the great number of bank failures will deepen the crisis by sharply restricting the purchasing power of the masses involved in the bank failures.

The Communist Party is calling on the worker-depositors to organise to demand the re-payment of every penny of their deposits. The stockholders of the bank are already organised, seeking to gain advantages over the workers involved.

Most of the funds of the bank were invested in real estate and in the garment industry of New York. As a result, many clothing firms have stopped paying wages to their workers; several have gone bankrupt, and the condition of the entire industry is affected by the bank crash.

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The Oppositional Manoeuvre in the French C. G. T. U.

By Aimé Simon (Paris).

The reformist minority in the C. G. T. U. (Revolutionary Trade Union Federation of France) saw its political platform based on the stabilisation of capitalism and the prospect of a peaceful development collapse as bourgeois France slid further and further into the crisis.

Now that the minority is losing its political arguments as its opportunist attitude becomes clearer, it is trying to replace them by a disgusting campaign to discredit the Communist Party of France, and to slander basely the leaders of the majority in the C. G. T. U. One comrade is accused by the minority of having stolen money, the property of the workers, another is accused of being a police spy, etc. The congress of the revolutionary railwaymen in November and the session of the national council of the C. G. T. U. towards the end of October both demanded unsuccessfully that the leaders of the slanderers should produce proofs for their accusations. Resolutions which were almost unanimously adopted condemned them publicly for their baseless slanders.

When the leaders of the minority opposition saw that they could not win the masses for their counter-revolutionary standpoint, (they were defeated even in those organisations which they considered to be their strongholds, for instance on the State railways, which was once the stronghold of the oppositional leader Rambaud) they contented themselves with organising little bands of persons deceived by their lies, in order to mislead them into acts of violence against the majority in the C. G. T. U.

Their organ "le Cri du Peuple" began by printing with approval the report of a leader of the independent organisation of the dockers in Brest, who had assaulted a delegate of the C. G. T. U., and by defending a leader of the independent organisation of the bricklayers in Lyons, who had organised a revolver attempt on an official of the revolutionary building workers union. The supporters of the minority then adopted fascist methods and provocations in a series of meetings in Paris and in the provinces.

During the last few weeks they are again attempting to win groups for their policy under the pretext of "trade union unity". On the 9th November 22 of the new knights of unity assembled "spontaneously" in Paris. Amongst these 22 were members of Jouhaux' reformist trade union federation (C.G.T.), including Monatte, Dumoulin and Digat. There were also members of the C. G. T. U. minority group, including Rambaud of the railwaymen, Engler the secretary of the dockers union, Boville the secretary of the food workers union, and various representatives of independent organisations, including the leader of the officials union, Piquemal. These 22 worked out a manifesto which was printed in the social democratic and bourgeois press and which demanded "the restoration of trade union unity". All these persons are the worst enemies of communism and have united on this basis.

The campaign of the 22 found an echo at various trade union conferences, and in particular at the congress of the revolutionary railwaymen on the 12th November, and at the congress of the independent officials union on the 30th November. Both Jouhaux and Monmousseau were invited to the latter congress in order to represent their points of view, but only Monmousseau appeared. He placed the communist interpretation of trade union unity before the congress and pointed out that unity could only be based on a programme of concrete action against capitalism.

On the 21st November the leadership of the reformist C. G. T. answered the manifesto of the 22 and declared that for them (the leaders of the C. G. T.) unity could only be established by the return of the revolutionaries to their old reformist unions, or the dissolution of the revolutionary unions in the reformist unions.

The supporters of the minority opposition in the revolutionary C. G. T. U. are doing their best to present the revolutionary trade union leaders, who have always fought for class

unity and the class independence of the trade unions, as no better than the reformist trade union leaders who themselves provoked the disruption of the trade union movement and who have since been the most furious opponents of all unity proposals. The minority supporters accuse both revolutionary and reformist trade union leaders of clinging to their posts, but they reserve their most violent criticism for the communists.

A number of supporters of the minority distinguish themselves particularly in this. One of them Martin, has proposed to his union, the Paris printers union, that it should return immediately to the reformist C. G. T. One of his colleagues, Juin, recently made the same proposal to a conference of the Paris minority. According to the opinions of these two the revolutionary C. G. T. U. must be gradually made to accept piece by piece the reformist policy of class-collaboration.

The saboteurs of class unity received the proper answer from the congress of the revolutionary railwaymen. The trade union of Tramwaymen in Lyons, which has 3,500 members and which is affiliated to the reformist C. G. T. has called a conference of the revolutionary minority in the reformist C. G. T. to take place on the 28th December. This is also heavy blow for the saboteurs.

It is high time to start creating committees of action in order to mobilise the workers in the reformist organisations and also the unorganised workers against the policy of class-collaboration and against the treacherous manoeuvre of the oppositional minority in the revolutionary C. G. T. U. It is urgently necessary to strengthen the ranks of the revolutionary C. G. T. U. whose programme of action is that of class trade union unity.

ORGANISTIONAL QUESTIONS

The Work of Factory Nuclei.

Letter from the Org.-Department of the E.C.C.I. Confirmed by the Polit-Secretariat.

(Conclusion.)

Experience in some countries has shown that the factory paper is a good method of establishing contact with factories having no factory nuclei and no Party members. The Party committee usually appoints a comrade whose business it is to organise a nucleus in the given factory. After a careful study of the situation in the enterprise and the question of interest to the workers he issues a factory paper based on material concerning that factory, containing a number of concrete and practical suggestions how Communist sympathisers can organise a Party nucleus in the factory without waiting for a Party organiser, what they must do, etc.

As soon as one succeeds, by all possible means, in establishing contact with 3-5 workers in the factory, they should immediately constitute a nucleus. This nucleus, regardless of its numerical weakness, should immediately proceed with the establishment of connections, energetically try to get more members into the Party, take steps to establish connections with departments and sections in the factory where there are no Party members as yet. The Party committee should carefully follow this work and untiringly help the comrades, correct their mistakes as they occur and if necessary attach new workers to them for that purpose.

Naturally every opportunity must be used in order to establish new connections in the factory. However, efforts should be made to establish first of all connections with the most important departments of the factory. There are in each factory to be found departments of first and secondary importance. The former decide the fate of the latter: if for some reason they do not function the others must follow suit. It is therefore highly important to have connections with and to organise nuclei in the departments which are of first rate importance in the factory.

The Nucleus of A Department is the Basic Link

The departmental nucleus is the principal link in the factory nucleus. Some comrades believe that departmental nuclei can be organised only in Parties which have strong and big

factory nuclei. That is wrong. Party work in the factory always begins in the department. A Party member cannot work in a factory in general; he works in some particular department and in one of the shifts.

What has a Party member who has got into a factory for the purpose of organising a factory nucleus to do? First of all he must acquaint himself with the department and find out who his fellow workers are. First of all he must find out whether there are any Party members or sympathisers. This can be done in the following way: he can find out from the Party committee whether there are any Party members in the given department and from the trade union fraction whether there are any workers with revolutionary inclinations. Similar information he can get from fractions of other mass organisations, W.I.R., I.R.A., Tenant Leagues, Sport societies, etc. The next step is to get in touch with the Party members and other revolutionary workers, to organise a revolutionary group together with them with the purpose of founding a departmental nucleus. When this is done the group has to find out exactly how the workers stand with regard to political questions, who of them belongs to the reformist union, who is a member of the social-democratic party, who of a fascist organisation, etc. That is absolutely necessary to know for each Party member and for each departmental nucleus. In starting their Party work in the department the Communists must naturally first of all approach the non-Party revolutionary workers, later make overtures to revolutionary workers belonging to the reformist unions and to the social-democratic party and also to individual fascist workers.

Simultaneously with work in their own department, Party members must establish and strengthen connections with the workers of other departments. If there are Party members only in one department, this departmental nucleus must fulfil the functions of a general factory nucleus. With the help of the Party committee and the support of the fractions of mass organisations, it must do everything to get into contact with all the workshops and departments of the factory. In its work for the whole factory such a departmental nucleus must steadily pursue the course of getting under its influence the majority of the workers of its own department, and becoming there an organ acknowledged by all the workers as leader of the struggle of the working class and champion of its interests.

The Factory Nucleus — an Illegal Organisation.

In all capitalist countries the factory nucleus can only work as an illegal organisation. Therefore its work and the work of every member of the factory nucleus must be conducted in a manner to keep any police agency in the factory as much as possible in the dark with regard to the Party membership of workers employed in the factory, and especially with regard to the concrete work carried on by the Communist Party in the domain of political propaganda and agitation among the workers and the organisational consolidation of the influence of the Party in the factory. That is why it is essential to observe elementary conspirative rules in the work of the factory nucleus. This applies equally to countries with illegal or legal Communist Parties. In countries with illegal Communist Parties connection between the nucleus and the Party committee meets with complications. In order to guarantee this connection, there must be, side by side with the establishment of a strong legal apparatus and a very effective apparatus for illegal connections, full utilisation of all legal and semi-legal possibilities, in the first instance, utilisation of the fractions of legal and semi-legal mass organisations, municipal fractions, etc. But even in countries with legal Communist Parties, the Party committees which control the work of the factory nuclei, must give full instructions to the members of factory nuclei with regard to conspirative rules in factory Party work.

Some of the conspiracy rules to be mentioned are as follows:

- 1) Party members must not go by their own names but use pseudonyms at the meetings of the nucleus and in discussing Party affairs and especially when drawing up minutes and similar documents.
- 2) As a rule never discuss Party matters in the presence of people you do not know or such who are known to have connections with the police.
- 3) Do not organise Party meetings and conferences publicly. Party meetings should be held where there is least chance for outsiders to intrude and listen to what is going on.

Therefore, one must take into consideration that, as a rule, factory nucleus meetings will have to be held more often than not, on other premises. But this should certainly not alter the character of their work as liaison organs between the Party and the workers of the various factories and works.

4) Make sure you have no Party documents with you when going to a meeting, so that it cannot be proved that it is a Communist meeting.

5) Do not boast before everybody in the factory that you belong to the Party.

When instructing members of factory nuclei along these lines the Party committees should at the same time make it definitely understood that conspiracy must by no means cut the nucleus away from the masses of workers in the factories. While taking precautionary measures against being detected by the police and their agents, Party nuclei in the factories must constantly let the workers know of their existence: they must publish leaflets, factory newspapers, organise meetings, etc. The most important duty of factory nuclei is to make the factory workers realise that the factory nucleus reacts immediately to every event in the factory and country. They must bring forward on behalf of the Party suitable organisational slogans connected with the struggle for the interest of the working class. While taking the necessary precautionary measures so as not to attract to themselves the attention of the police agents, Party members must not only carry on persistent daily work in order to bring new sections of workers into the ranks of the Party and into the sphere of Party influence, they must also, whenever the situation demands, (for instance, excitement among the workers in connection with a mine explosion) instruct active members of the nuclei to appear in their true colours before the workers even at the risk of arrest and dismissal.

Recruiting Work.

Party members must be most persistent in moulding the minds of individuals on political questions, taking advantage of the slightest opportunity for that—the dinner hour, the way home, special walks with individual workers who display interest in the Communist Party and in the revolutionary trade unions. In recruiting members at the time of mass campaigns the Communist Parties must endeavour right now to carry on daily agitation among individuals to join the Party in the factories. The existing factory nuclei can be strengthened and new ones organised primarily and chiefly by means of persistent individual recruiting work in the factories. The influence of the Party can be given organised forms with the help of such work and the new elements who will join the Party as a result of it will not be people who enter after an enthusiastic speech by some Communist orator only in order to withdraw the next day, but sound revolutionary elements who will have a clear understanding as to why they join the Communist Party and what they are going to do when accepted.

If working class members will be recruited on the basis not only of a simple explanation of the aims and objects of the Communist Party but also by drawing sympathising workers into the daily work of the basic factory organisations, the best results will be obtained and the most progressive elements of the working class will join the Party, and people capable of carrying out the instructions of the Party in the factory with regard to the mobilisation of the masses and their preparation for the common struggle of the working class will be best able to do so.

The Structure of A Factory Nucleus and its Working Methods.

In order that the factory nucleus may work properly it must be properly organised. It is very hard to bring about such organisation now in view of the fierce terror of the employers and the police in the factory. The practice in some Parties is to break up the Party organisation in the factory into groups of 5 or 10 to escape repressive measures. This may be used in some instances but it should by no means be applied mechanically. It is quite natural that wherever the factory nucleus is numerically weak or it is impossible for political reasons to organise a meeting of all members of the nucleus, there should be meetings of small groups, and the nucleus should be broken up into several parts. But this must not be done in an ordinary mechanical way. In the first place a group, no matter how big or small, must represent a certain

section of the factory, say, one workshop, one department, one section, one shift brigades, etc. There is no use organising groups of people however small, who do not work in the same department or the same shift because they will not be in a position to be always in touch with each other. The basic principle to be guided by in the organisation of a group is that of having the closest possible quick and sure connections. The main division in a factory nucleus is naturally to be found in the workshops, the workshops nucleus. A nucleus in the workshop can in turn be broken up into several groups each of which would consist of workers working close to each other or in the same shift so that they would be always in touch with each other. Each group should have a strict division of labour, of Party work above all having an organiser whose business would be to keep the group in touch with the factory nucleus. Each member of the group should have some task to perform. The tasks are to be assigned at meetings, pointing out what each member must do to carry out the instructions of the superior Party organs and to increase the Party's influence in that part of the factory where the group happens to work. The members of the group should come together everyday, if only for a short while, they should have a code whereby the members would be able to inform each other concerning the work that has to be done on the job without rousing suspicion among the stool pigeons and without being noticed by non-Party workers or members of the social-democratic party.

The possibility to be always in touch in time of work, to be able to transmit quickly to all members in the workshop, and through them to all sympathisers, the necessary instructions is one of the major points of inside organisation of each section of the factory nucleus, and such order should be established inside each department and workshop. The duty of an organiser of a departmental nucleus should also be to make connections with the nuclei of other departments and workshops and, if that is impossible, to be directly in touch with the corresponding Party committee. The Party Committee which has direct charge of the work of the factory nuclei establishes connections with the factory nucleus and at the same time also with all the departmental nuclei. Such connection is absolutely necessary so that in case the bureau of the factory nucleus is discovered the Party committee may be able directly to get in touch with the departmental nuclei and to re-establish connections with the factory organisation through them. The organisational structure of a departmental nucleus is therefore the following: Inside of each department or workshop, depending upon the technical peculiarities in the organisation of that department and depending upon the number of Party members working there, there should be several organised groups. These groups constitute a departmental nucleus. Commensurate with its numerical strength, the departmental nucleus has its own organiser or bureau elected at the general meeting of the factory nucleus or at the meeting of group representatives (if the departmental nucleus has a large membership, and police conditions make it difficult to bring together many Party members). The departmental nuclei constitute the factory nucleus. At the head of each factory nucleus there is a bureau elected at a general members' meeting (or at a meeting of representatives of the departmental nuclei if the spying system makes a general meeting of the nucleus impossible). The bureau of the factory nucleus should consist of the best Communist members of the nucleus and it should consist of three or five members and two candidates. As such it should guide with the assistance of the departmental organisers the daily activity of the factory nucleus with the direct support of the corresponding Party committee.

The bureau of the factory nucleus should meet regularly with representatives of the departmental nuclei to discuss questions of general Party work in the factory, to review the work of various departmental nuclei and to draw up the immediate tasks of the factory organisation as a whole and of each departmental nucleus separately. When dividing the work between the members of the factory nucleus, work, among the working youth and women workers must be considered. The Party nucleus in the factory must make itself responsible for energetic help to the Y.C.L. with regard to the establishment of a strong Y.C.L. nucleus in the factory, and also with regard to the organisation of women workers' delegate meetings, which should be a means of drawing these women into the Party and proletarian mass organisations.

Utilisation by the Factory Nucleus of Legal and Semi-legal Possibilities.

The factory nucleus should have all kinds of legal and semi-legal subsidiary organisations, trade unions, educational groups, sport societies, etc. to rely upon in its current work. The trade union organisations, as the most important transmission belt for the establishment of connections between the factory nucleus and the working masses in the given factory, are of greatest significance. In order that the factory nucleus may be able to rely on the trade union organisations in the factory the trade unions must be reorganised on a basis of the employment of their members, according to the decision of the V. Congress of the R.I.L.U. It is the business of the factory nuclei to take the initiative in this reorganisation with the help of its members who belong to the union. The factory nucleus should be the backbone of the respective trade union group in the factory. Backed by the factory trade union group the factory nucleus can spread its influence over the rest of the workers, drawing them into the struggle for immediate demands and explaining in the course of that struggle the general line and the tasks of the revolutionary trade union movement and Communist Party. When discontent is to be observed among the workers in connection with the factory rules, wage-cuts government acts, socialist treachery, etc. the factory nucleus should take the initiative in setting up the necessary fighting organs to make arrangements for a strike, to fight against a lockout, to prepare for demonstrations, etc., making use of the accumulated international experience to be found in the resolutions of the Strassburg conference on strike tactics, in the decisions of the X. Plenum of the E.C.C.I., and in the Org. Resolution of the V. Congress of the R.I.L.U. The factory nucleus should make full use also of such organisations as I.R.A., W.I.R., Tenants' Leagues, sport organisations, etc. The factory nucleus should seriously take up the question of organising proletarian self-defence in the factory—pickets in time of strike, defence corps to protect speakers, buildings of the revolutionary unions and the Communist Party, demonstrators from police and fascist attacks in time of demonstrations. The factory paper is the best means in the hands of the factory nucleus for spreading Party slogans among the workers in the factory and for mobilising them around these slogans. The value of factory papers is greatly under-estimated in many Communist Parties. They are not very widespread and there are even factories where nuclei have been in existence for a long time which have no papers of their own. On the basis of international experience it may be categorically stated that the Communist Parties cannot be reorganised on a factory basis unless factory papers are used for the purpose. Under the conditions now prevailing in the factories where no big meetings can be held the factory paper is the best means whereby instructions and slogans of the Party can be circulated in the factories. For this purpose the factory nucleus, as well as the corresponding Party committee in charge of the factory nuclei, must devote much attention to the factory paper. The nuclei themselves and not the Party committees should be rallied to the factory papers, including amongst them is now the case in all Parties in very many instances. The Party committees should guide the work of the factory nuclei in issuing their papers. Politically developed Party members with a fair education should be attached to the factory nuclei to help them in this work. The Party committees should systematically consider the content of the factory papers, review them, have them discussed at meetings of the departmental and factory nuclei as well as at meetings of the active Party members in the factory with a view of improving them to the utmost and making them the best means in the hands of factory nuclei for increasing the Party's influence in the factories with the help of self-criticism. Active sympathisers should be rallied to the factory papers, including amongst them revolutionary social-democrats and members of reformist unions. Worker correspondents of Party publications and the press of the revolutionary trade union movement should be drawn in and efforts should be made to turn the factory paper into the main support of the Party press and the revolutionary trade union press.

The red factory councils and revolutionary delegates are a most important auxiliary organisation in the matter of mass work of the factory nuclei. The question of capturing the factory committees and consolidating our influence on the basis

of such committees should be considered of utmost importance by the nuclei. The success of the factory nuclei largely depends upon the success of the struggle to capture the factory committees and to set up revolutionary delegate bodies as the main support of the nuclei in getting control of the factory committees or in organising such wherever none exist (France).

Work among Members of Social Democratic Parties and Reformist Unions and among National Fascists.

Factory nuclei should devote particular attention to social democratic workers and members of the reformist unions. Such work is now becoming of extreme importance in view of the fact that social-fascist treachery of the leaders of the socialist and the Amsterdam International becomes clearer and clearer before the broad sections of workers as a result of which many of them desert these organisations and their reactionary leaders. In order to organise this work properly the factory nucleus must be well informed on the activities of the social-democratic party and the reformist union in the given factory. For this purpose it must find out who belongs to the social-democratic party and to the reformist union and surround them with Party members and sympathisers working near them. The factory nucleus should at the same time keep itself informed through the fraction of the reformist union as to what that union intends to do in the factory, through whom, and how. One of the major tasks of fighting against social-democratic and reformist influence in the factory should be to expose those who directly bring that influence into the factory. All the social democratic and reformist officials in the factory should be severely criticised in the propaganda and agitation in the factory nucleus with the help of Communist fractions and especially the factory paper, each number of which should cite facts exposing the treacherous anti-working class part played by these agents of the bourgeoisie in the factory. The nucleus should at the same time closely follow the rising discontent of members of the social-democratic party and the reformist unions with the policy of their leaders, establishing closer contact with the discontented elements and on the basis of the united front tactics from below make them cooperate in actions in favour of immediate demands of the workers of the given factory and the working class as a whole. The Party nucleus must be very flexible when approaching social-democratic and reformist workers. Naturally such workers will not immediately agree with the programme and tactics of our Party. These workers begin to break away from their leaders in connection with some particular question while they still share their views on other matters, they still keep contact with them and carry out their instructions. The main task of the factory nucleus in dealing with such workers is not to criticise them for not leaving their leaders altogether, but to find a common language with them on questions concerning which they are ready to part company with their leaders so that they may be drawn into the struggle for immediate demands and that in the course of that struggle the cleavage between them and their reactionary leaders may be deepened and that they may in the end desert their leaders altogether.

The Struggle Against Deviations.

The Party cannot be reorganised on a factory basis unless a most determined and relentless struggle is waged against any kind of deviation from the general line of the Communist International. Practice has shown in all the Communist Parties that both the Right and the "Left" opportunists are opposed to the factory nuclei. But the Right wing opportunist deviation is undoubtedly the greatest obstacle in the reorganisation of the Parties on the basis of factory nuclei and in their general Bolshevisation. The Right wingers with their passivity, their traditions, their old social-democratic methods, are unquestionably the greatest hindrance in the development and strengthening of the factory nucleus. International experience in the organisation of Communist Parties has also shown that very often opportunists in practice in the matter of organisation of factory nuclei are people who on general political questions vote in favour of the general line of the International. A per-

sistent and consistent struggle against this type of opportunists is necessary in all links of the Party organisation, for this form of opportunism in practice is most dangerous for the actual Bolshevik reorganisation of the Communist ranks. The most ruthless criticism is necessary of the activities of Party committees in charge of the factory nuclei in this respect. The criterion in judging the success and correctness of the work of those Party committees at the present time should be their ability to lead the factory nuclei, the ability to strengthen and activate them. The work of all the lower Party organisations, including the factory nuclei, should be examined from this viewpoint. First of all an investigation should be made of how the Party members are divided in the factory and street nuclei, all workers belonging to street nuclei should be made to explain the reason why they do not perform Party work in their factories and why they do not join their factory nuclei. As to the factory nuclei they should be investigated with a view to finding out whether they are really organs of Party contact with the workers of the given factory, to what extent they serve the interests of the current struggle of the workers in the factory, whether they link up the current struggles with the general political struggle of the working class, with the general programme of action, framed by the C. C. C. P. and the Communist International for the Party as a whole. The best Party forces should be mobilised for the investigation. It should be conducted on the basis of mass self-criticism from below, inviting all Party members to cooperate, organising nucleus and district meetings, Party conferences, conferences of the active members in the lower organisations, etc. The conclusion should by no means be drawn that every worker belonging to the Party and evading Communist activity in his nucleus or in the factory must be an opportunist. There is no doubt that there are opportunists among Communist workers in the factory and that there are also such people among them who have no business to belong to the Party. However, it is quite certain that the great majority of working class members of the Party not working in factory nuclei and even evading such work, are not opportunists, and the chief reason of their failure to work in the factory nuclei does not lie in their opportunism but in the inability of the local Party leadership properly to organise the work of the factory nuclei, to carry on explanatory work with regard to the reorganisation of Party work on a factory basis and its inability to combine legal and illegal forms of work in the factory nuclei. In this respect it is absolutely necessary that all Parties devote most serious attention when investigating the work of the factory nuclei not to the formal side of the work of factory nuclei with regard to regular meetings, etc. but to the practical problems of aiding them, doing everything to convert them into genuine links between the Party and the masses of factory workers of the given enterprise. The Party committee must see to it that the factory nuclei should organise the defence of the daily interests of the workers of the given factory with the support of the many legal and semi-legal factory organisations, the factory trade union groups first and foremost, and that they should constantly explain the aims and tasks of the Communist Party and expose the treachery of the social-fascist leaders and the counter-revolutionary activity of the national socialists (fascists).

As the organisational consolidation of the Communist Parties and of the factory nuclei especially, is of paramount importance if the directions of the February Presidium of the ECCI are to be carried out, all the Communist Parties must seriously consider all questions connected with the reorganisation of Party work on a factory nucleus basis. In accord with concrete local conditions, they must work out the necessary practical measures, fix responsibility and establish systematic control over the carrying through of these measures. It is essential for the Party committees to make it a rule to receive reports from the Org. Departments about the development of Party work in the factories. On the basis of these reports, the Party committees must take the necessary measures for a further strengthening of this work, for the conversion of factory nuclei into genuine basic organisations of the Party with the least possible delay.