

# The Second Five-Year Plan of the Soviet-Union

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## On the Eve of the Geneva "Disarmament" Conference.

By Th. Neubaer (Berlin).

The reparations Conference, which in a certain sense was to have been a prelude to the larger Disarmament Conference has been postponed indefinitely for the time being. French imperialism has rejected in the gruffest possible manner the German demand for cancellation of the reparations: it absolutely refuses to enter into negotiations on such a matter. This is a very nasty rebuff for the governments of England and Italy, which endeavoured right up to the last to bring about a conference. It is a severe defeat for the German bourgeoisie, much more humiliating than if the Conference itself had rejected the German demand.

When, on November 20th, 1931, the German government in its Memorandum to the Bank for International Settlements applied for the convocation of the Special Advisory Committee "in order that a Conference of those governments which are competent to take the decisions then to be reached may thereupon at once be held", it pointed out in support of this request that since the Summer "the economic and financial situation of Germany has become exceedingly critical". The report of the Committee which was signed by all the "experts", concluded with an appeal "to the govern-

ments on whom the responsibility for action rests, to permit of no delay in coming to a decision which will bring an amelioration of this great crisis which weighs so heavily on all alike". In spite of this, the Conference which was to have met on January 25th has been postponed for an indefinite period.

This stage of the reparations policy constitutes a series of set-backs and defeats for the German government. Although weeks of negotiations with Paris had not led to any agreement on the question of Germany's private debts, the Reichs-government, in its memorandum, expressed the wish that the Special Advisory Committee at its meeting in Basle would take into consideration all factors of the problem, "with special reference to the circumstance that the question of Germany's private indebtedness must duly form the subject of a new settlement before the end of the month of February next". To this the French government promptly replied that these private debts of German capitalism could not form the subject of debate either at Basle or at the forthcoming reparations Conference. The Brüning government had hastened to express its agreement with the Anglo-American

theses of the priority of private debts over reparations. Laval seized the first opportunity to declare in the French Chamber (on November 26): "We shall not allow the private debts any priority over reparations demands." The three weeks negotiations in Basle, filled with continual diplomatic manoeuvres, ended with a striking victory for the French point of view. The Committee refrained from expressing judgment on the unprotected annuities and, what was still worse for the German government, bound up the question of reparations with the question of inter-allied war debts, whereby the final solution of the reparations question was postponed to the Greek calends. For only four days previously the American Congress, after stormy debates, pronounced by 317 votes against 100 against the cancellation or even any remission of war debts.

It will always remain a riddle, what the Brüning government, after such negotiations, expected from the approaching reparations Conference. On January 6, the Reichs-Chancellor informed the French Ambassador that Germany would not be in a position to pay the Young tributes at the expiration of the Hoover moratorium, or in fact even for years. On the following day he made a similar communication to the English Ambassador. On January 9, a Reuter's telegram was published informing the public of Brüning's declaration. And now a storm of national indignation swept over France, which reached its culmination in the debates in the Chamber on January 19 to 22, when Laval brought about a united front from the fascist groups of the extreme Right to the social democrats under Leon Blum for the "sacred right" of reparations. The Communists alone opposed this nationalist agitation and demanded the cancellation of reparations.

The reparations conference has not come about, but instead, a tremendous aggravation of the antagonisms among the imperialist Powers. Whilst in England and Italy anti-French sentiment has rarely been so strong as in the past few weeks, in France, chauvinism has been holding regular orgies; and also in Germany the waves of nationalist incitement have risen higher than usual. A very fine prelude to the Disarmament Conference!

The "Temps" already threatens with reprisals in the event of Germany not being prepared to pay after the expiration of the Hoover year (June 1932): "The retaliatory measures which come into consideration are the following: refusal to renew our share in the 100 million dollar credit for the Reichs Bank; return to the 26 per cent import duty on German imports; termination of the Franco-German commercial treaty of 1927. Everybody knows that behind these threats of an economic war there are more serious ones—military threats! Shall we, perhaps, in the year 1932 experience a repetition of the Ruhr adventure?"

The possibilities of new imperialist wars have increased enormously. This is shown not only by the predatory war of Japanese imperialism in China. It is shown before all by the state of affairs in the capitalist countries of Europe, which is nothing else but a war of all against all—a war which is still being conducted with economic and financial means, but which can easily become a war with military means.

If at such a time the Disarmament Conference meets at Geneva, one need not be a prophet in order to predict its result. Of course, all the imperialist States want disarmament, but only of their rivals, while each State will insist that it has long ago reduced its armaments and—of course, in the interests of securing the peace of the world—cannot in any circumstances reduce them any further. Soviet Russia will be the only State which desires real disarmament in the interests of the working peoples of all countries—complete 100 per cent disarmament, up to the disbanding of the armies and the destruction of war material.

Burdened with the defeat in the reparations question, Brüning will shortly go to the Disarmament Conference in Geneva in order there to meet with a fresh defeat. We have always stigmatised the hypocrisy of the old German thesis on the disarmament question, as put forward by Stresemann, Hermann Müller and Curtius, that Germany has the right under the Versailles Treaty to demand that the other Powers disarm; for behind this there stands the unspoken demand that Germany is justified in arming if the other States do not disarm. It now seems that Brüning wishes to develop this old disarmament demands still further by demanding the equality of Germany in regard to the disarmament question. General Groener has already stated this in an interview which he gave the Berlin representative of the fascist newspaper "Popolo d'Italia".

General Groener, who apparently does not find sufficient outlet for his energies in the administration of two Ministries (Defence and Interior), seems to be troubled with the ambition to win laurels in international politics. A few days ago, he issued a declaration regarding the French suspicions of secret armaments of the Reichswehr, the barrack-yard tones of which scandalised the professional diplomats. He now proclaims the following as the guiding line for Brüning's activity in Geneva in regard to the question of Germany's attitude:

"It is the demand for the equality of treatment. We demand for all the same methods of disarmament and the same measure of security!"

Thus on this question, the Brüning government, just as on the reparations question, has decided to adopt the standpoint of the national socialist opposition as announced by Colonel D. Hiel, chief of Hitler's general staff, at a demonstration of the Munich high schools: equality, freedom of armaments!

We do not know how Messrs. Brüning and Groener hope to be able to put forward this standpoint at Geneva. Probably they again assume that they can rely on the support of Great Britain and Italy. It is really astonishing that the German bourgeoisie have learnt nothing from the most bitter experience. We have actually before us here a first attempt at an independent national socialist foreign policy; and the fiasco could really not be more complete. It seems, however, that the comedy will be repeated at the Disarmament Conference.

One must observe how the German bourgeoisie make use of this adventurous foreign policy, which is bound to lead from one defeat to another, in order to achieve certain inner-political aims. They obviously wish, by stirring up nationalist instincts, to divert the masses from the fight against the collapsing capitalist system; with the war-cry of: France is responsible for everything, to cover up the responsibility of capitalism for the state of misery in Germany; with the deceitful slogan of the "national united front", to bring confusion into the revolutionary class front.

The Communist Party of Germany must not underestimate the dangers which can arise therefrom; it can oppose them by showing that the capitalist class, no matter who is at their head, cannot find any way out in foreign political questions and that the Communists and only the Communists, with the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat, will solve the question of reparations and of national freedom.

## Dartmoor Prison Revolt.

London, January 25.

The revolt of the convicts at Dartmoor has made many workers realise the appalling condition of British prison life. They realise that convicts would not have taken so desperate a chance had they not been driven to it by utter despair.

The official figure returned of the injured convicts is 84. Whilst early reports, which gave 3 dead, have proved incorrect, it is officially admitted that more than 20 of the wounded men are in a critical condition.

A fierce fight took place between convicts armed with sticks and stones, and warders for the armoury, were there were hundreds of rifles and thousands of rounds of ammunition. The arms of the warders enabled them to hold the convicts at bay until reinforcements were obtained from all the neighbouring police forces.

So panic-stricken were the authorities that they armed a number of the inhabitants of Pricetown, the village in which the prison stands, telling them to shoot at any convict they saw.

Troops were sent for and in full battle array, with machine-guns, were being hurried to the scene when the overwhelming police forces eventually got the upper hand. To-day the prisoners have in the main been confined to their cells, from which, according to press reports, they have been hurling defiance at the warders. The ring-leaders will be flogged, if the authorities get their way, and practically the whole prison put in solitary confinement, with bread and water. They will also lose all remission that they have earned from their sentences.

The trouble arose from a deterioration in the already shocking food, brought about in the name of "economy", allied with a tightening of discipline to the point of brutality.

A Home Office Commission of Inquiry has been appointed. Its object will be to whitewash the prison administration and to secure the heaviest penalties against the mutineers.

## POLITICS

### The Imperialist Antagonisms and Lausanne.

By R. Bishop (London).

The practical abandonment of the Lausanne Conference, which can at most be a meeting of experts and officials for face-saving purposes, has exposed sharply the growing antagonism between the leading capitalist countries. MacDonald and Laval are going to meet to discuss the situation, but beyond arriving at some formula are likely to achieve nothing.

The last few weeks have revealed how rapidly the crisis is intensifying throughout the capitalist world. The interests involved far exceed in magnitude the actual amounts of political debts. As compared with a total sum of £ 80 millions paid by Germany in a year, the export trade of the seven chief countries of the world has shrunk since 1930 by 800 million pounds sterling, or ten times the amount of the Young annuity.

In Britain there are many and varied signs that the National Government which was to have settled everything has settled nothing. So acute has the internal situation in the Government become that the Cabinet has had to renounce the traditional policy of collective responsibility, hitherto held sacred, stating that Cabinet members may speak and vote in Parliament against Cabinet decisions that have been taken in connection with tariffs and the balance of trade. Whilst Bruening's pronouncement that Germany could not meet the obligations imposed upon her by the Young Plan had the first effect of exacerbating Franco-German relations, it has in addition succeeded in bringing the bitter Anglo-American antagonism, the fundamental antagonism of present-day Imperialism, to a head.

The British settlement with the European countries who owe her money was that she should collect from them an amount equivalent to what she pays America annually. These were the terms on which Baldwin settled the payment to America and were contained in the Balfour Declaration of 1922, which proposed debt cancellation in such a way as to pose the United States as the Shylock of the world, with the idea in view of ranging the European debtor States against America.

America has always repudiated any connection between debts and reparations. The latter she claims are a purely European concern. Last Summer the financial crisis compelled Hoover to agree to the suspension of international debts for one year. Since then the American Congress has reiterated that the war debts cannot be cancelled or further reduced. Against this policy the whole of the British bourgeoisie press, from the "Times" to the "Daily Herald", has incessantly campaigned.

Germany cannot pay reparations or debts. Bruening was emboldened to resist by the differences that have developed between the other Powers. Britain is extremely anxious about her credits in Germany. According to the London "Evening Standard" three of the most powerful British banks and two of the reputed strongest City financial houses are involved to the limit in the German credits. The question of credits is as tightly bound up with that of the war debts as the latter is with Reparations. In addition to her financial interests, Britain is also anxious to placate Germany and to retain her as a potential ally.

France, on the other hand is deeply concerned about Reparations and debts, not only because of their financial importance to her but also because of their political significance. Any modification, still more a complete abandonment of the Young Plan, would result in greater independence for Germany, and a consequent weakening of French hegemony in Europe. Thus we find a position of stalemate has been reached.

The fact that France claims priority for political debts whilst Britain equally strongly demands priority for private credits; the fact that the Hoover moratorium which was welcomed in London was received with gloom in Paris, would make it appear on the surface that Anglo-American rivalry had given way to Anglo-American co-operation against France. Actually this would be a totally false picture of the situation. Whilst the interests of France and Britain differ at many points, Britain is anxious to conciliate France for a number of reasons, not least of which is the position the latter occupies as the head of the anti-Soviet bloc in Europe.

The British press daily affords evidence of this. The whole concentration of capitalist venom is directed against America.

The "Economist" of January 23 quotes approvingly an article by Mr. Walter Lippman which appeared recently in the "Times", the purport of which is that European nations are in a dilemma about scaling down their receipts from Germany without any assurance as to the attitude that will be taken by America to her European debtors.

Says the "Economist", by way of comment, Mr. Lippman suggests that the European creditors should "behave as if by some miracle the Congress of the United States were enlightened and sympathetic".

The whole tone is anti-American throughout. Britain has not yet despaired of lining up the European Powers, under her leadership, against the United States.

But despite this attitude, British capitalism is compelled to wage its own struggle against both America and France, the countries that remain on gold. This she is doing with a depreciated currency and the introduction of a rigorous tariff policy.

The deadlock that has been reached cannot continue in its present form. The rival capitalist powers, including France, Germany and the U.S.A. have got to meet the threat to their industries and to their agriculture implied in the British tariff policy. Reprisals are already taking place. As the struggle goes on and the crisis develops, the weapons and the mutual relations of the various combatants change, each one playing his own hand against all the others and seeking in so doing to win the allegiance of the smaller Powers. According to how their fortunes are going at the moment, the various Powers make trifling concessions with an eye to improving their position and their own ultimate gain.

But in each country, no matter what adjustments are made between the Powers, the drive against the working class continues unabated. Faced with an ever-deepening crisis, capitalism the world over strives to save itself by intensifying the offensive against the working class. The capitalist Way Out is the way of wage-cuts, of longer hours, of growing mass unemployment, of ever more intensive rationalisation and of increasing misery. However the situation changes the antagonism between Britain and U.S.A. remains the basic capitalist rivalry around which the others revolve.

In this situation it is necessary to press forward in every country for increasing working-class unity in struggle towards the revolutionary way out.

### The Political Situation in Latvia.

By P. Kalns.

At the last elections in Latvia the revolutionary working class obtained 7 out of a 100 seats in Parliament. In the previous Parliament the revolutionary working class had six representatives. The elections were carried out under unprecedented terror. It was impossible to hold legal meetings of the revolutionary working class or to issue leaflets and other revolutionary election literature. During the election campaign hundreds of workers were thrown into prison and tortured or shot down while posting up placards. The bourgeoisie, which is split up into small groups, entered the election campaign with slogans which were directed against the national minorities and Communists, which, however, at the same time expressed the general fear of Communism.

The new Parliament met at a time of extraordinary intensification of the crisis. The bargaining over the formation of a new government lasted a very long time. The social democratic Parliamentary fraction, consisting of 21 deputies, was compelled for the time being to refrain from an open coalition with the bourgeoisie. The discontent of the masses was too great to allow this, and in addition the social democracy had to bear in mind that the workers' and peasants' fraction would expose their treacherous coalition policy before the working masses.

The head of the present government is M. Skujnieks, a former social democrat, who is known as a politician who sympathises with Poland and is at the same time a deadly enemy of the Soviet Union and of Communism. His task is to unite the petty bourgeoisie, and thereby create a broader basis for fascism.

The effects of the economic crisis are such that fierce antagonisms have made their appearance in the groups which support the "national" government of Skujniek. In order to

avoid a government crisis, Skujniek is delaying the convocation of Parliament. In the meantime, he has issued a number of emergency orders. By this means he has already put through a wage cut of 5 to 20 per cent. for the officials and employees. He has thereby increased the discontent among precisely those sections which were to have been the main support of his government. The other emergency orders have had a similar effect. As a result, the government is in a state of chronic crisis.

In Latvia, with a population of less than 2 million, there are 80,000 unemployed (according to official returns 30,000). There is no unemployment insurance. Every day factories are being closed down and the unemployed army is constantly growing.

The unemployed movement is actively organised by the illegal C. P. of Latvia and the workers and peasants fraction. But even members of Parliament can organise meetings only illegally. Only by the energetic action of the masses are the prohibitions broken through and a sort of fighting legality attained.

The bourgeoisie and their government are losing hope of an improvement in the situation. For this reason they are endeavouring to draw the social democrats into a government coalition. It is hoped by Left phrases to check the revolutionisation of the masses.

The workers' and peasants' fraction is regarded as an obstacle to the formation of a coalition between the national bourgeoisie and the social democracy. Therefore negotiations have been going on of late among the interested groups and the leaders of the social democracy regarding the **destruction of the workers' and peasants' fraction**. With this aim in view, public opinion is being worked up. Acting in complete agreement, the bourgeois and the social democratic newspapers are spreading the wildest rumours regarding the activity of the workers' and peasants' deputies. It is asserted that they incite the unemployed to acts of robbery and murder; and for this reason the arrest of the revolutionary deputies is demanded. The democratic immunity of Parliamentary deputies is no protection for them. Only recently, the police in Dünaburg, at an unemployed meeting, ruthlessly mishandled the deputy **Jerchov** and fired a number of shots, as a result of which three workers were wounded.

The existence of the Latvian workers' and peasants' fraction is seriously threatened. The revolutionary deputies are calling upon the working people of Latvia to defend them. The fraction calls the attention of the international revolutionary proletariat to the increased preparations for terror by Latvian fascism. What shameful deeds are being prepared is already clearly shown by the fact that recently not one of the revolutionary deputies has been granted permission to leave the country.

## The Fascist Regime of Montero in Chile.

By Albert Moreau.

The fascist government of Montero in Chile, servant of Yankee imperialism, has again initiated a wave of terror against the hungry masses in the cities and the countryside, especially against the militant trade unions under the Federacion Obrera Chilena (Foch), the unemployed workers and the Communist Party, which is leading the struggles of the workers against hunger, starvation and fascism.

The economic and financial crisis, which brought the end of the Ibanez regime under the pressure of the masses last July, has deepened tremendously. The characteristic feature of the present situation in Chile is seen in the widespread upsurge of the masses against the policy of the government of landlords and capitalists who are shifting the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the toiling masses. It found expression in a series of **strikes** of the workers in the light industries, extending now to the basic industry of the country, in the nitrate mines, transportation, etc. With the great rise of unemployment (more than 200,000 workers are exposed to want and starvation), the struggle of the unemployed has extended in the nitrate mine area. The brutal murder of unemployed workers in the valleys of Copiapo and Vallenar in the middle of December aroused the resentment of the soldiers in **Copiapo** who mutined on the eve of December 25, not only against the wholesale massacre of the workers, but also against

the worsening of their conditions and the reign of terror against the soldiers through the Councils of War instituted after the naval uprising in Coquimbo on September 1st.

The **naval uprising at Coquimbo**, which was crushed with the utmost brutality by the government forces, was followed by the dismissal of 4,800 sailors who took part in the rebellion, depriving them of all means of subsistence and robbing them of unpaid back salaries. The government has instituted a regime of persecution against all those who participated in the Coquimbo naval mutiny, cutting the wages of the sailors and soldiers and reducing their daily ration. In the middle of December, the War Councils directed a massacre of unemployed workers in the nitrate valleys of Copiapo and Vallenar. Hundreds of workers were murdered and more than one hundred are now waiting court martial sentences which if carried out mean death. In Copiapo, the mutiny of rank and file soldiers on December 25 resulted in the killing of 11.

The widespread mass movement of the toiling masses in Chile has extended to the petty bourgeoisie of the cities, who are also made victims of the deepening crisis. The small shop keepers have organised a movement and are demanding a 30% reduction of their rent, a moratorium of their debts and the resignation of the Minister Haciendas Pratt. The movement is a united front against the usurers of the National Banks and foreign bankers, the big industrialists and the present government of big capital and foreign imperialism.

The government is attempting to "solve" the unemployed question by instituting forced labour. Thousands of workers are concentrated in barracks under military control, compelled to work for a miserable wage of 3 Chilean pesos a day from which the cost of food and fuel is deducted. These are also the means used by the government in order to force the employed to accept wage cuts. Hundreds of unemployed are shipped to the south of the country. The hungry masses, left in desolate farms and pasturage places with no shelter and food, have seized cattles from a latifundio in order to satisfy their needs, the authorities not daring to interfere because of fear of a revolt.

Against the offensive of the bourgeois-imperialist forces, the masses are rising in order to put an end to their conditions of starvation. The Montero regime has the support of Yankee imperialism. It is attempting to force the operation of the imperialist Cosach nitrate monopoly, which has thrown thousands of workers on the streets. Since Ibanez' fall, the operation of the nitrate Yankee monopoly (Cosach) has reduced the jobs of the nitrate workers from 22,000 to 16,000. The tremendous reduction of government income from the export of nitrates, is compelling the government to resort to more taxation, which falls heavily on the petty bourgeoisie of the city and countryside. Chile cannot meet its foreign obligations and has declared a moratorium. Under the pressure of imperialism, the bourgeoisie and the landlords are resorting to a most savage attack on the workers and the city poor, exacting from them enormous taxes in order to pay the huge interest on loans.

Parallel to this, the rivalries among the various dominant groups of landlords and native capitalists are sharpening more and more. British Imperialism is rallying around it groups of landlords who are connected with it, against the growing influence of Yankee imperialism and the domination of the Yankee Cosach. These sharpening rivalries between the various groups will lead to the organisation of coup d'etats, for the support of which they will seek to utilize the masses.

Between the working class and the landlord-bourgeois government stands the renegade and traitor **Hidalgo**, serving the interest of the capitalists. Hidalgo and his lieutenants constitute one of the main obstacles to the unfolding of the revolutionary movement of the masses in Chile.

The workers and revolutionary peasants of Latin America must raise their voices of protest against the fascist murders of the Montero regime, in joint action with the revolutionary proletariat of the United States. Let us remember that it was by the action and protest of the revolutionary movement on the American Continent that the Chilean fascists were prevented from executing the heroic rebels of the Coquimbo naval mutiny. More than 100 workers, militants of the Foch and the Communist Party of Chile, are to be court martialled by the fascist Councils of War in Copiapo and Vallenar. Only through mass protests and the action of the masses throughout the Continent, can we save these brave class militants from the clutches of the enemy. Demand the immediate freedom of the Copiapo and Vallenar prisoners, the release of all class war prisoners.

## "THE WORLD "DISARMAMENT" CONFERENCE

### Anti-Soviet Incitement as a Prelude to the "Disarmament" Conference.

By Nemo.

Although the voluminous protocols of the proceedings of the Preparatory Commission for Disarmament show beyond all doubt that the only proposal for immediate, general and radical disarmament emanated from the Soviet government (which proposal will again be submitted by the Soviet government to the World "Disarmament" Conference), a united front is being set up in Geneva in order to cast the blame on the Soviet government for the fiasco of the World "Disarmament" conference which has been well organised by the imperialists. The fact that the Soviet government, immediately before the meeting of the World Conference, is increasing its efforts to conclude non-aggressive pacts and thereby expressly emphasising its desire for peace, is either completely ignored or at least distorted by the war mongers. Here are a few examples.

In the army commission of the French Senate, Senator **Eccard**, who is at the same time a general, who repeatedly called for an open fight against the Soviet Union, delivered a long report on the military forces of the Soviet Union in order to characterise the Red Army as a hindrance to disarmament. A resolution adopted by this Commission stated that the real military forces of the Soviet Union are unknown and that they must be regarded as a great danger. The resolution further declared that it expects from the French government that it will call the attention of the World "Disarmament" Conference to this state of affairs and induce the League of Nations to adopt appropriate measures.

As the Polish Foreign Minister **Zaleski** also sought to justify Poland's armaments with the argument that Soviet Russia's armaments were kept secret from the League of Nations, it must be pointed out that the Soviet government promptly complied with the request of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission for details and information regarding the state of armaments of all countries. The Soviet government of course has no occasion to satisfy the espionage desires of the imperialist general staffs, but it still stands by that disarmament proposal which envisages an international control of armaments with the participation of workers organisations. The imperialists are quite aware that the Soviet government is too much preoccupied with the economic and cultural construction of the workers' State to be able even to think of any warlike adventures. Thus the resolution of the army commission of the French Senate constitutes a definite anti-Soviet action.

At the very moment when the Soviet government is endeavouring to conclude non-aggression pacts, the French press is conducting a wide-scale incitement against the alleged secret armaments of the Soviet Union, and against the Five-Year Plan as a plan of preparation for war against the capitalist world. The leading illustrated paper "**Bravo**", for instance, published an article by **Winston Churchill**, entitled "Does Russia want war? The Five-Year Plan Disturbs Europe!", in which it is pointed out that all the Western neighbours of the Soviet Union, which constitute a "cordon sanitaire", feel themselves threatened by the armaments of the Red Army. **Winston Churchill** concludes his article by referring to the hope which the countries bordering the Soviet Union place in the French army as the largest and strongest army in Europe. **Winston Churchill** expects from the World "Disarmament" Conference that it will observe and take these facts into consideration.

The French Senator **de Monzie**, who likewise repeatedly called for intervention against the Soviet Union, describes the Five-Year Plan in the Paris press as a war plan of the Soviets against Europe. "Europe speaks of peace, Russia speaks of war", declares **Monzie** and especially warns Poland to be on its guard. The long-winded declarations of the French senator constitute a warning to the World "Disarmament" Conference not to render Europe defenceless.

The vassal States of French imperialism are likewise making use of the Red Army bogey in order to evade under-

taking any obligation to disarm. In the disarmament Note of the Polish government to the League of Nations, **Zaleski** called attention to the special geographical position of Poland which renders it impossible for it to disarm. A few days ago, the Rumanian Foreign Minister, prince **Ghinka**, declared that, having regard to its special political and geographical situation, Rumania could disarm only on condition that the League of Nations would fully guarantee the military security of Rumania.

The statements of **Zaleski** and **Ghinka** are clearly directed against the Soviet Union and do not need any comment. Both the Polish and Rumanian press have already pointed out that their governments expect from the World "Disarmament" Conference an increase of their armaments in order to guarantee the safety of Europe in the East. According to a report of the "**Neue Züricher Zeitung**", it is feared in Poland that the World Disarmament Conference would result in reduced security in the event of Poland having to disarm: a certainly unfounded fear.

The Polish press has once again discovered the so-called "historical right" of Poland to complete freedom of armaments. In support of this right it asserts that hitherto Poland was occupied with its national construction, and therefore was unable to devote attention to national defence. But the Polish press carefully avoids mentioning that Poland's military expenditure swallows up nearly half of the total budget.

An article characteristic of the anti-Soviet machinations of the World "Disarmament" Conference was published by the Vilna "**Slovo**", which likewise endeavours to represent the Five-Year Plan as a war plan against Europe. But the chief editor of the paper declares that for Poland war would be an incomparably more risky affair than for the other European Powers, and Poland therefore should be not the first but the last to go into the fire. So much for the peaceful policy of the Polish bourgeoisie!

The prelude to the World "Disarmament" Conferences shows that it is intended to serve the purpose of international incitement against the Soviet Union.

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## Soviet Government Denies Capitalist Lies.

Paris, 22nd January 1932.

An official communiqué of the Soviet Embassy here was issued to-day denying the statements made by General **Bourgeois** and Senator **Eccard** in the Foreign Relations Committee of the French Chamber of Deputies, according to which the Soviet government had refused to supply the League of Nations with information concerning its armaments in connection with the coming disarmament conference.

The communiqué points out that the Soviet Union is not a member of the League of Nations, that it does not recognise the right of the League to demand any such information, nor the duty of the Soviet Union to supply it. However, in the interests of world peace the Soviet government was one of the first to supply Sir Eric Drummond with the necessary information concerning its armaments. Further, the Soviet Union was the only country in the world which made an offer to all other countries to exchange information concerning armaments.

The Soviet authorities in Moscow publish a categorical denial of a report published in the French and Roumanian press according to which Roumanian warships have stopped the Swedish vessel "Jerlan" and found it full of arms consigned to the Soviet Union. The denial declares that so far as any share of the Soviet Union in the matter is concerned, the report is a fabrication.

## Japanese Troops Occupy Harbin.

Tokio, January 20, 1932.

At 11 o'clock this morning the cavalry of the Japanese General **Sisja** occupied the Chinese quarter of the town of Harbin. The invading troops disarmed the Chinese police and advanced into several other districts of the town. The situation is said to be very critical.



# THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS

## Sharpening of the Agrarian Crisis in America.

By A. Bosse (New York).

The agrarian crisis in the United States intensifies tremendously, as the general economic upheaval reacts upon it after a decade of chronic farm crisis. Prices and income have fallen precipitously for the farmers during the past year, while the capitalist parasites in the banks, railroads, and produce exchanges continued to squeeze from them their last drop.

In **Indiana** farmers are burning wheat for fuel, since it costs only \$9 a ton, as against \$16.50 for coal. In **Kansas** they auctioned off 155 acres of wheat for \$100, or less than the cost of the seed used to plant it. In other states publishers and dentists are accepting wheat, cotton and eggs for subscriptions and false teeth. In various parts of the U.S.A. and Canada barter is resorted to get food, fuel, etc. Such is capitalist economy in its most advanced sector.

Let us look at the other side of the picture for a moment. The new Democratic chairman of the House Naval Committee proposes a Ten-Year Plan—expend \$616 million to build 120 new warships—while Hoover pretends to oppose it, and sends his Secretary of War to support it. Hoover urges the appropriation of \$2 billion of tax-exempt, high interest-yielding securities for the banks and railroads so they can guarantee their stock and bondholders payment of interest and dividends; and Congress promises to pass the measure. Mellon refunds to himself and his colleagues in Wall St. \$70 million for 1931, bringing the total of such gifts for the decade to \$1,270 million.

The railroads are allowed to increase freight rates to the extent of \$125 millions annually, while the rail workers' wages are cut \$200 million more. Hoover sends a second message to Congress urging the passage of these bills "to restore confidence in the bonds of our railways. These bonds are held by our insurance companies, our savings banks, and benevolent trusts"—the widows and orphans of Wall St., controlled by Morgan, Mellon, Hoover, and company.

Meanwhile, finance capital does not forget the farmer. The bankers had a bill passed for the farmers, "aiding" them to the extent of \$125 million. The federal land banks were given that amount increase in their capital, and hidden away in a maze of verbiage in the press admitted the twofold reason for it. The first was to fool the farmers into thinking they were being aided just as big business was, and at the same time keep them from getting excited about the moratorium on foreign debts which the international bankers demanded and got. Evidence of this may be seen in the rejection of an amendment for a year's moratorium on farm debts.

The second and main purpose is to provide further plunder for Morgan and his gang, since one of his syndicates handles all financing for the farm bank system through an illegal monopoly. The author of the federal land bank bill, the Democratic representative, Steagall, admitted this: "The bill seeks to supply the banks with funds to enable them to meet payments on bonds... will make possible refunding of outstanding high-rate bonds." Aid the farmers! By tightening the noose about their necks.

As a result of such tender care the banks and railroads pay interest and dividends on heavily-watered stock, while the American peasant starves and migrates. John Farmer pays 50% more freight for his produce than before the war and 25% more for the goods he buys, while he gets 30% less for what he sells. Last year the farmers of the country had an income of \$6,920 million, a drop of 26% from the year before and of 42% from 1929. In 1916 it was \$16 billion.

The bottom has fallen out of farm prices, the Department of Agriculture being forced to say that the situation is "such as has seldom been known in the history of this country". Wheat has dropped from \$1.04 a bushel at the end of 1929 to 43 cents in 1931, corn from 77 cents to 36, cotton from 16½ cents a pound to 5¼, potatoes from \$1.29 to 43 cents a bushel, etc.

To take an example of just how the government of big business has been deliberately forcing down prices received by the farmers, let us hear from their own mouths what they have done to wheat. At hearings held by the Senate Agricultural Committee at the end of November, the head of the Federal Farm Board, J. C. Stone, banker and tobacco broker testified. Mr. Stone, with the aid of insistent questioning by liberal members of the committee, told something of how it was done, and from his annual report we get further information. In November, 1929, after the farmers had sold their wheat, the Farm Board began to "aid" them by buying wheat from the speculators in the grain exchange, stabilizing the price at about 75 cents until June 1930, when it reached 90 cents. Then the Board stopped buying, on the excuse that they had no more money. Peculiarly enough, it was in June when the farmers began to harvest and sell their new crop. From then till November the price dropped to 69 cents a bushel.

Then new funds were suddenly found, and a new excuse for **helping** the farmers. Attention was drawn to a large number of bank failures in rural districts, though this had been going on since the economic crisis began in the fall of 1929. The Board began buying wheat in the middle of November and the price went to 80 cents. The annual report of the Board says: "On June 3, the 1931 harvest had begun... Stabilisation purchases were stopped." And while the farmers were selling their wheat the price went down to a record figure of 44 cents in October—on the Chicago Exchange. That means the farmers were getting 25 and 30 cents, whereas the government estimates it costs them about 3 times as much to produce. On the first day that the farmers began to sell their wheat the Farm Board not only stopped buying, but began to sell in competition with the farmers they were so nobly aiding. By June 3, 1931, they had bought 330 million bushels from the speculators at an average of 82 cents a bushel, while the farmers were selling it for a half and a third that sum.

Senator Wheeler, a liberal on the committee, stated that the farmers had "got no benefit out of stabilisation", because "practically every farmer... had gotten rid of his wheat". Stone denied this but was forced to admit that they had sold over four-fifths, and it was shown that the other fifth, if it was so much, was mainly seed wheat. This slimy hypocrite could say in his annual report, after having stabilized prices for the grain brokers and bankers, that "the proposal that prices be fixed is not in the interest of the farmers". Yet a few pages later he writes that had the decline in wheat prices continued after November 1930, "the shock to business and financial institutions... would have been intensified. Many cooperatives (purely capitalistic-A.B.), and banks, dealers and other concerns, might have been forced into bankruptcy. The six months of stabilized (mind you, not **fixed**-A.B.) prices gave business institutions a breathing spell..." And it gave the farmer a choking sensation in the throat.

In November of 1931 it seems the same stunt could not be used, but miraculously enough the gods came to the aid of the farmers—and of the grain speculators. The Japanese advance on Tsitsikar and the preparations for war against the Soviet Union, together with skilful rumors in which the government played its part, boomed the price of wheat to 73 cents on the exchanges. The Department of Agriculture suddenly discovered a shortage in the U.S.A., though procurements were above those of the year before, which were record-breaking. In Germany and France "rain", apparently the product of the rain-makers of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, spoiled 30-50 million bushels, and in Australia there was "shortage". Strangely enough a week later the French crop was found to be 40 million bushels above the year before, and a month later that in Australia increased greatly.

A. W. Cutten, foremost grain speculator in the U.S., ascribed the rise in the price to supply and demand. But a little later a Paris (sic) dispatch, buried in an obscure corner of the Times, admitted, "No doubt is entertained however, that the present rise in Chicago has been chiefly engineered by speculators". (Nov. 9, 31.) And the N.Y. Post a few weeks later also began to tell the truth: "The farmers, as a whole, have been little benefitted, as their marketings were comparatively limited... Big Chicago and eastern and western speculators took advantage of the advance to unload." (Nov. 26, 31.) Yet the entire press of the country had made much ballyhoo about the great profits reaped by the farmers when the price was over 70 cents, putting it at \$400-550 millions in the headlines, though admitting in the text that only a quarter of this was "commercial" grain.

## **The XVII. Party Conference of the C. P. S. U.**

# **The Directives of the C.P.S.U. for the Setting up of the Second Five-Year Plan of National Economy of the Soviet Union.**

## **Theses on the Reports of Comrades Molotov and Kuybyshev at the XVII. Party Conference of the C.P.S.U.**

### **I. On the Results of the First Five-Year Plan.**

1. The results of the struggle for the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan in four years are expressed in the victorious construction of Socialism in the Soviet Union. The basis of these achievements of Socialism is the policy of industrialisation, the advance of heavy industry, the development of the output of the means of production. In the past period our heavy industry has been placed on a firm basis, as a result of which we have been able to set up our own basis for completing the transformation of our whole national economy, i. e., the basis of socialist large scale machine-building industry. In the last year or two new factories have been erected, among them being works which already surpass the level of European technique in various branches of industry. At the same time, the light industry has greatly developed and the rate of development of the food industry far exceeded the proposals of the Five-Year Plan.

2. A radical change has taken place in agriculture, which is expressed in the final turn of the masses of poor and middle peasants of the village toward Socialism. The socialist forms (collective and Soviet farms) have obtained a dominating position in agriculture. The Soviet Union has been converted from a country of small and dwarf farms into a country of the largest agricultural undertakings in the world, on the basis of collectivisation, the development of the Soviet farms and the large-scale application of machine-technique. This victory of Socialism, which has solved the most important and most difficult problem of the revolution, is of world-historical importance.

3. The most important result of socialist construction on the basis of the first Five-Year Plan is the final extirpation of the roots of capitalism in the village, which is a precondition to the complete liquidation of the capitalist elements and the complete abolition of classes. The completion of the basis of Socialism in the Soviet Union means that the Leninist question: "Who will be victor?" has been completely and irrevocably solved in town and country in favour of Socialism.

4. Thanks to the realisation of the Bolshevik tempo of socialist construction and thanks to the liquidation of the parasitic classes, which has been carried out on the whole, we have already in the first five years liquidated the basis and sources of the exploitation of man by man, the people's income is growing at a rate quite unattainable by the capitalist countries, unemployment and pauperism have been abolished, the "scissors" and the contradiction between town and country are being done away with, the standard of living and the cultural level of the workers and the toiling peasants are rising from year to year, mortality is declining and the population of the Soviet Union rapidly growing.

5. All these achievements are the result of the colossal growth of the revolutionary activity of broad masses of the working class and of the toiling peasantry, the result of the tremendous upsurge of socialist competition and the shock-brigade movement, and finally, the result of the Leninist policy of our Party, which has consistently conducted the attack on all fronts against the capitalist elements.

6. The Party achieved these results in the struggle against the bourgeois theory of Trotzkyism regarding the impossibility of the construction of Socialism in one country and of the inevitability of the restoration of capitalism—of Trotzkyism, which has become the advance-guard of bourgeois counter-revolution.

7. The Party has achieved these successes in the fight against Right opportunism, whose line consists not only in undermining the policy of socialist advance but also in direct capitulation to the kulaks and the bourgeois elements.

**The creation of the prerequisites for the realisation of the first Five-Year Plan in four years, the crushing of the class enemy and the victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union is secured only in the decisive fight against both Left and Right opportunism and against conciliation towards the same, and for the general line of our Party.**

### **II. The Main Tasks of the Second Five-Year Plan.**

The successes in the realisation of the first Five-Year Plan have created the basis for the further and still more powerful development of Socialism in the Soviet Union. The XVII. Party Conference of the C.P.S.U. is of the opinion that the vast natural resources of the country, the Bolshevik tempo of socialist construction, the increasing activity of the broad masses of the workers and collective peasants and the correct line of the Party will fully secure such a development of the productive forces of socialist economy in the second five years, as a result of which the capitalist elements in the Soviet Union will be finally liquidated. The Conference is of the opinion that the fundamental political task of the second Five-Year Plan is the final liquidation of the capitalist elements and of classes in general, the complete removal of the causes which produce class differences and exploitation, the overcoming of the remnants of capitalism in economy and in the minds of the people, the conversion of the whole of the working population of the country into conscious and active builders of the classless socialist society.

On the basis of the liquidation of the parasitic class

elements and the general increase of the national income, over which the workers have complete disposal, a considerably more rapid increase in the well-being of the working and peasant masses is to be achieved. The Conference is of the opinion that the supplies to the population of articles of necessity, including foodstuffs, must by the end of the second Five-Year period be increased at least two to threefold compared with the end of the first five years.

1. The fulfilment of these tasks is possible solely on the basis of the broadest technical transformation of national economy: industry, transport and agriculture.

At the commencement of the first Five-Year Plan the Soviet Union had practically concluded the reconstruction period, and in the last few years proceeded to the reconstruction of a number of key industries, in particular of the smelting industry, engineering, the coal mining industry, not to speak of the reconstruction of the naphtha industry which had already been carried out. A special place in the broadly developing reconstruction is occupied by agriculture, which is being rapidly transformed on a new technical basis.

The successes achieved in this sphere in the first Five-Year Plan are, however, only the commencement of the realisation of the technical reconstruction of national economy. Meanwhile, with the present inadequate and, moreover, obsolete and worn out machine equipment of industry and transport, not to speak of agriculture, the Bolshevik tempo of socialist construction which is necessary for the realisation of the fundamental tasks of the Five-Year Plan, cannot be secured unless a technical reconstruction is carried out in all branches of the national economy, and unless the latter is provided with a new machine technique.

The XVII. Conference of the C.P.S.U. is therefore of the opinion that **the fundamental and decisive economic task of the second Five-Year Plan is to transform the whole national economy and to create the most modern technical basis for all branches of national economy.**

The leading role in completing the technical reconstruction falls to Soviet machine-construction. The Conference is of the opinion that the output of the engineering industry must by the end of the Five-Year Plan be increased at least three to three and a half fold, compared with 1932, so that all requirements of the reconstruction of industry, transport, traffic, agriculture, commerce etc. can be satisfied by perfect and most modern machines, produced by ourselves.

The most important element in the technical reconstruction of national economy consists in the creation of a modern energy basis, grounded on the broadest electrification of industry and transport and on the general permeation of agriculture with electric energy, utilising for this purpose the tremendous water power, stores of coal, the chief and minor coalfields, local deposits of fuel (turf etc.). The Party Conference is of the opinion that it is absolutely necessary to increase the production of electric energy in the year 1937 to at least 100 000 million kilowatt hours compared with 17,000 million kilowatt hours in the year 1932. The output of coal must be increased to at least 250 million tons compared with 90 million tons in the year 1932, and the output of naphtha must be increased to 2½ to 3 times the present output.

The XVII. Party Conference of the C.P.S.U. is of the opinion that in regard to the most important branches of the national economy, the following tasks must be set up in the second Five-Year Plan:

a) In the **iron smelting industry**, at least 22 million tons of crude iron must be smelted in the year 1937, in addition to securing for the machine-building industry the necessary production of good quality steel, for which purpose the complete technical reconstruction of the iron smelting industry, with the erection of new works, introduction of new, highly efficient machines, careful preparation of raw material, electrification of labour processes and the utilisation of by-products are necessary.

b) In the **non-ferrous smelting industry**, in the course of the Five-Year Plan, the smelting of copper, lead, spelter, aluminium and rare metals is to be carried out on a scale necessary to satisfy completely the requirements of the country.

c) In the **chemical industry** the lagging behind the tempo of the development of national economy as a whole is to be liquidated. Special attention is to be directed to the chief branches of chemistry and especially to the production of chemical fertilisers, which necessitates the re-equipment of factories and the all-round promotion of the construction of such factories.

d) In **railway transport** a fundamental reconstruction is to be carried out, involving the promotion of the building of new railway tracks amounting at least to 25,000 to 30,000 kilometres in length. Some dozen new bridges over the main waterways are to be built; powerful locomotives, waggons with a big loading capacity, electrification of a number of lines, automatic couplings, automatic signals and oil-driven locomotives must be introduced on a broad scale. The development of railway transport has to guarantee the accelerated progress of economy in a number of regions and national Republics whose requirements have by no means received sufficient attention in the past.

In **water transport** the reconstruction of the lake and river fleet will be carried out; new waterways are to be opened up, the existing ones improved, and the construction of well-equipped harbours on lakes and rivers carried out.

The construction of **streets and highways** and **automobili-**

**sation** is to be secured at a more rapid pace than the other branches of transport.

Transport on the waterways is to be developed in all the chief directions as one of the most important means of communication between the remote districts and the industrial centres.

Broadcasting in particular is to undergo a great development.

e) In the **fight industry** and in the food industry production is to be extended and a threefold increase in the standard of consumption of the population per head is to be secured by setting up a big machine-industry and considerably developing the agricultural raw material basis. Here we proceed from the necessity of greatly developing light industry and the food industry in the new districts, especially in the districts producing agricultural raw materials.

In the timber industry, which is acquiring extraordinary importance, we have to secure the necessary rate of growth and the introduction of mechanisation.

f) In **agriculture** we must achieve the completion of socialist reconstruction; the machine and tractor stations must embrace all collective farms and complete in the main the mechanisation of agricultural production. The tasks of consolidating the collective farms organisationally and economically and of socialistically retraining the masses of collective peasants must occupy our chief attention also in the second Five-Year Plan.

The Soviet farms have the task to increase their production in all spheres, both in regard to technical plants and also in the sphere of cattle breeding, to consolidate their role as models of socialist organisation of production and of the employment of highly developed machine technique and all the achievements of modern agronomy and zoological technique in agriculture.

In the sphere of cattle breeding we must in the second Five Year period achieve such an increase in the number of cattle and such a growth in the production for the market, corresponding to the solution of the cattle breeding problem in the Soviet Union, as the Party has achieved in the first Five-Year Plan in regard to the grain problem.

With regard to cotton and flax, we have at least to double the gross production and to triple the production of sugar beets. All these measures in the spheres of agriculture demand a further and still more rapid promotion of grain cultivation, so that by the end of the second five years the grain production will amount to at least 1,300 million double centners. Therefore, it must be made the central task of the second Five-Year Plan to raise the yielding capacity of the collective and Soviet farms, and Bolshevistically to solve the problem of droughts.

2. The fulfilment of the task of the complete technical transformation of national economy is indissolubly connected with the acquisition of technique by our economic cadres, the creation of broad new cadres of technical intelligentsia out of the workers and peasants, and the definite raising of the cultural level of the whole mass of the working population.

3. The development of the goods' turnover is of outstanding importance in securing the Bolshevik pace of development of the whole of national economy and better satisfying the requirements of the broad masses in town and country as regards articles of daily necessity. The development of the goods' circulation—before all of retail trade—and the introduction of the principle of business accountancy in the whole of economic work, is the most important stimulus for bringing to the front the tremendous inner reserves in our economy which have not been fully utilised by a long way, which promote an acceleration of the growth of socialist accumulation and thereby the consolidation of the material basis of the whole of socialist construction. Only by developing the circulation of goods is it possible to secure the further rapid improvement of the supplies to the workers and the toiling population of the village with industrial goods and agricultural products, and for this purpose it is necessary in turn to develop in every way the network of shops and stores, besides carrying out the necessary technical transformation of the same. Only on this basis is it possible to prepare for the abolition of rationing and to replace the centralised distributive system by a broadly developed Soviet trade.

In addition, the Party Conference emphasises the anti-Bolshevist character of the "Left" phrases of the transition to



the "exchange of products" and the "gradual elimination of money" already in this stage of the construction of Socialism. The Party Conference, on the other hand, emphasises that the bourgeois-N.E.P. distortion of the principle of business accountancy—which is expressed in the wasting of the provisions of the people and of the State and, as a result, in the frustration of the economic plans laid down—is incompatible with the policy of the Party and the interests of the working class.

The working class will be able to secure the new achievements of Socialism only in the fight against the remnants of capitalism, by ruthlessly defeating the resistance of the declining capitalist elements, by overcoming the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois prejudices among the toilers and by carrying on persistent work for socialist re-education.

The complete collectivisation of agriculture, the development of the big State agricultural undertakings and the equipment of the Soviet and collective farms with up-to-date technical means and machines, which converts agricultural work into a variety of industrial work and brings about a considerable consolidation of transport and goods turnover between industry and agriculture, are the prerequisites for the complete abolition of the contradiction between town and country.

The rapid development of socialist economy in the period of the second Five-Year-Plan necessitates the overcoming in the national districts and Republics of economic and cultural backwardness inherited from the Tsarist, colonial-capitalist regime.

In the second Five-Year Plan the Soviet Union will advance to the first place in Europe in regard to technique. The work initiated by the first Five-Year Plan to convert the Soviet Union from a country importing machines and equipment into a country independently producing machines and equipment, will be completed and will "secure the Soviet Union its economic independence, thereby safeguarding the Soviet Union from becoming an appendage of capitalist world economy". (14th Party Congress of the C.P.S.U.)

All this creates for the Soviet Union the possibility, already in the second five years, technically and economically catching up to the most advanced capitalist countries in many branches of economy.

The deep crisis in the capitalist countries is the best proof of the approaching doom of the capitalist world. The achievements of Socialism in the Soviet Union are the best proof of the superiority of the socialist system as compared with the capitalist system.

In the capitalist countries—catastrophic decline of production, wholesale dismissals and closing down of factories and works, unheard-of destruction of productive forces. In the Soviet Union—uninterrupted, enormous increase in production, broad development of the construction of factories, giant works, collieries, electric-power stations, a rate of development of the productive forces unattainable by capitalism.

In the capitalist countries—frightful unemployment of millions and an extraordinary impoverishment of the masses in the rural districts. In the Soviet Union—complete liquidation of unemployment and abolition of misery, seven-hour working day in the factories and works, uninterrupted increase in the well-being of the toiling masses in town and country.

All this renders the Soviet Union still more a centre of attraction for the workers of all countries and the oppressed of the whole world. The revolutionising importance of the Soviet Union is growing. The Soviet Union is becoming stronger as the basis of world Socialism.

The XVII. Party Conference of the C.P.S.U. expresses the firm conviction that the main tasks of the second Five-Year Plan will be not only fulfilled but even surpassed; that the toilers of the Soviet Union will bring about the necessary increase in the productivity of labour; that the ranks of the participants in socialist competition and in the shock-brigade movement will grow from day to day.

The Conference is firmly convinced that the working class and the masses of collective farmers will find in the Party, in the Young Communist League, in the trade unions and Soviet organisations Bolshevik organisers and leaders for the victorious struggle for the realisation of the second Five-Year Plan.

## CHINA

### Fight and Constructive Work in the Chinese Soviet Districts.

#### Report from the Soviet District on the Frontiers of Hunan—Hupeh—Kiangsi.

The Soviet territory on the frontier of the three neighbouring provinces of Hunan, Hupeh and Kiangsi consists of the districts of Singshen, Zaling, Yuchen, Niling, Liuyang, Pinkiang and a part of the districts of Changcha and Juchow (in Kiangsi), Tungshen (in Hupeh), Lianghoa, Nij-Zuen, Wandsei, Pinchang, Tungku and Shiusui (in Kiangsi). Some of these districts are not yet completely under the Soviet power; there are still a few places here which serve the white armies and the armed forces of the landowners as points of support. Our chief armed force is the 26th Red workers and peasants army, in addition to which numerous armed units and young advance-guards defend our Soviet territory.

In the Soviet territory the land is distributed among the poor peasants and agricultural workers. The standard of living of the poor peasant population has already been considerably raised. The distribution of the land was carried out after a persistent fight against the big peasants, who opposed it in every possible way, either by making false returns regarding the amount of land in their possession, or by making use of the positions they had been able to creep into in the Soviets in order to safeguard their class interests. As a result, in some districts, as for instance in Lianghoa, the distribution of the land had to be carried out three or four times before it came to a final settlement of the matter.

The Soviet Power has not only satisfied the land-hunger of the poor peasants, it has also relieved them of the oppressive burden of feudal taxes and dues. A uniform progressive tax of 2 per cent. of the rice crop over 5 pikul has now been introduced. The Soviet population pay this small tax with eager readiness, and the revenue from this tax shows very good results. Thus for example, in the year 1930, in the district of Wandsei, the tax brought in more than 2,400 Pikula of rice.

Small shop-keepers and traders are allowed full liberty to carry on their business provided they first register with the Soviets. The chief products of our Soviet territory are tea, paper, porcelain, coal, etc. In the Liuyang districts the Soviet Power has set up paper factories. In Lianghoa colliery works have been opened. The production of porcelain in Wandsei has increased considerably. The poor peasants eagerly buy China tea pots, and tea cups on which revolutionary slogans are artistically painted.

In all districts the Soviets have opened workers and peasants banks and issued silver coins and banknotes which are readily accepted by the Soviet population and brought into circulation. At first the Soviet money even circulated in the white districts, but as soon as the Kuomintang authorities heard of this, they strictly forbade the use of this money, in fact workers and peasants found in possession of Soviet money were executed. As a result of the economic blockade by the white districts, the Soviet districts suffered a shortage of ready money. This of course served the profiteering business people as an opportunity to make a run on the banks and demand the exchange of banknotes for silver coins so as thereby to shake confidence in the Soviet banknotes. But this reactionary manoeuvre was exposed and frustrated by the revolutionary vigilance of the broad masses. The confidence of the Soviet population in the Soviet currency could not be shaken. The workers and peasants bank in Pinkiang, for example, has issued 1,000 silver dollars and banknotes for 13,000 dollars; the workers and peasants bank in Liuyang has issued banknotes amounting to 10,000 dollars, the workers and peasants bank in Wandsei for 6,000 dollars and the workers and peasants bank in Shiusui for 3,000 dollars.

The working population of the Soviet districts fully realise the great importance of their armed forces in the revolutionary fights, in the capture of territory and the establishment and defence of the Soviet power. They love and honour the Red Army. When detachments of the Red Army march through or are quartered in their towns and villages,

they supply the red fighters with rice and tea, show them the correct way, help them to transport their weapons and give every care and attention to wounded Red Army soldiers. A hospital which has been erected in Liuyang has accommodation for 5,000 sick and wounded Red Army soldiers. The women are everywhere forming detachments which look after the Red Army soldiers, wash their underclothing and keep them in order, repair their clothes, etc. Musical evenings and performances by Agitprop troops are arranged for the members of the Red Army. When big fights are on, the workers and peasants put their own affairs on one side and devote all their powers and resources to supporting the Red Army, transporting the wounded, nursing them and concealing them from the enemy. The Soviet government has set up nursing and training homes for sick and wounded red army soldiers in the districts of Pingkiang, Shiusui, Liuyang, etc., where the Red Army soldiers have the opportunity of learning a trade and acquiring further political knowledge.

We must openly admit that in spite of the strengthening of the proletarian elements in the leadership of the Red Army, it is not yet completely based on the working class and the poor peasant population, and that a part of it, even if a small part, consists of big peasant and other elements. These elements were often made use of by the "A. B. League" (anti-Bolshevik League) in its counter-revolutionary attempts to discredit the Red Army in the eyes of the masses. According to statistics, in the period from September 1930 to March 1931, over 30,000 workers and peasants in our Soviet districts voluntarily joined the Red Army.

For the purpose of local defence, the peasants in all localities form defence formations, red defence corps, which have the task of systematically carrying out partisan fights in the neighbouring white districts, fighting against the armed forces of the landowners in the frontier districts, defending the red territory, supporting the Red Army in the fights against the white army, and protecting the peasants while at work. Up to the present, the red defence corps have over 3,000 rifles and many flintlocks and lances. The youth of both sexes are organised either in the pioneer groups or in the youth advance-guards and take part in the fights with enthusiasm and determination. They constitute a valuable support in the fights against the enemy.

In spite of the uninterrupted fights against the white-guardist Kuomintang troops, and in spite of all the difficult circumstances, the Soviets are successfully promoting the cultural life of the population. Thus, for instance, in Liuyang, in the third district, there exist over 60 red elementary schools and a Lenin middle school. In district 4 there exist over 50 red elementary schools and a Lenin middle school. All school material, books, paper, etc., are supplied to the pupils free by the village Soviets. Even if we are not completely satisfied with the constructive work of our Soviet districts, nevertheless the successes which we have achieved in spite of all the hostile attacks and campaigns show that only in the Soviet districts, which have been freed from the yoke of imperialism and of the Kuomintang, is constructive work at all possible.

closed their shops as an expression of their sympathy with the demonstrators. A butcher distributed food to the demonstrators as they marched past the market place. But before all the co-operative "Vorwärts", which is under revolutionary management, had bread and a hot meal served to hundreds of demonstrators who had marched for hours from long distances.

The Gablonz demonstration, like all previous demonstrations and unity conferences of the workers, enthusiastically welcomed the proposal of the Friedland and Königgrätz unity conferences to convene a national fighting day for the purpose of demonstrating throughout the whole of Czechoslovakia for the demands of the workers and unemployed, and adopted all the necessary measures to carry out this decision.

Further demonstrations took place in **Deutsch-Gabel**, participated in by 3,500 workers. Under the pressure of this mass demonstration the district authorities had to promise to pay out 200,000 Czech crowns as emergency relief and to commence a number of emergency works in the Deutsch-Gabel district in the next few days.

In the **Pardubitz** district demonstrations took place in Choteboc on January 18, attended by more than 1000 unemployed. In face of this mass demonstration the municipal council adopted a decision to grant the unemployed weekly benefit, as well as fuel, free light, free housing etc.

Of particular importance is the development of the mass actions in **Carpatho-Ukraine**, where indescribable misery and starvation prevail. The toiling peasants are robbed by the tax authorities of their last penny. The population is waging a desperate struggle against its suppressors; the bailiffs are beaten up and driven from the villages, the whole village population offer united resistance to the gendarmes who come to the assistance of the bailiffs. The Czech government is now trying to crush this mass movement by means of punitive expeditions.

A further characteristic feature of the mass movement is the fact that in many cases the workers, in spite of the drafting in of strong police and gendarmerie forces, and even military troops, do not flinch but put up fierce resistance. In some cases the demonstrating workers have occupied the town halls and other government buildings, brought pressure to bear upon the municipal council meetings and enforced the granting of their demands. In **Chrudim**, for instance, the demonstrating workers compelled the authorities to allow their delegation to visit the political prisoners in the district prison. The prison director was forced to send a telegram to the Minister for Justice demanding the release of the political prisoners.

In the course of this whole action, which is being conducted under the slogans of general support of the unemployed at the cost of the State and of the employers, against the worsening of social insurance and against a number of attacks prepared by the government, the organisational influence of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia and of the red trade unions is being strengthened. For ever broader masses of toilers, the C.P. of Czechoslovakia is becoming the only leader of their struggles against the bourgeoisie.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### Mass Demonstrations of the Toilers in Czechoslovakia.

By G. Friedrich (Prague).

The fighting united front of the Czechoslovakian toilers under the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and of the Red Trade Unions is extending. In **North and North-West Bohemia** alone 30,000 workers demonstrated last week under the leadership of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia. Great masses of both unemployed and factory workers, among them being social democratic and even national socialist workers, participated in these demonstrations.

In **Gablonz** there took place a tremendous demonstration of the whole Gablonz industrial district. After the great demonstration, attended by 9000 workers, in the **Reichenberg district** against the contemplated closing down of the great textile works Ginzkey, this demonstration of the Gablonz district was the greatest that has been witnessed for years. All the shop-keepers of the Gablonz-Tannwald district had

### The Importance of the Congress of European Mine Workers.

By Gustav Sobottka (Berlin).

The present situation in the coal mining industry is characterised by a new attack by the mine-owners in all capitalist countries on the wages and working conditions of the miners as well as by an increasing radicalisation of the miners. The swindle of the Amsterdam Miners International regarding the international introduction of the seven-hour shift, which was finally exposed last year by the Geneva Agreement on the regulation of working time in collieries, has opened the eyes of many miners regarding the role of the bureaucracy of the Amsterdam Miners International. The constant promises made last year by the reformist bureaucrats that after the reduction of the wages and the decline in the costs of production great numbers of unemployed miners would be reengaged, have likewise proved to be a fraudulent manoeuvre.

On the contrary, in all countries hundreds of thousands of miners have again been thrown onto the streets. The crisis in the mining industry is deepening and the mine owners are

proceeding to make further attacks on the miners. As a result, great numbers of the rank and file of the reformist miners' unions are beginning to oppose the treacherous policy of the union leaders.

In Germany, already in the October struggle, great numbers of miners organised in the reformist and christian trade unions struck work together with their fellow workers organised in the red unitary federation. As a result of the wage cuts enforced by means of emergency decrees, as a result of the cutting down of pensions of disabled miners, the robbing of a part of sick insurance benefit, the indignation of the miners has risen still higher. In Czechoslovakia, many miners organised in the reformist unions are attending the unity conferences organised by the revolutionary miners in all districts against the offensive of the mineowners.

The Polish miners, who during the past year, under the leadership of the revolutionary opposition, organised the fight against the attempted wage cut, have been so greatly roused by the latest attacks of the mineowners, that the reformist bureaucrats considered it opportune to "threaten" with a general strike in order to prevent the miners from joining the revolutionary opposition.

The reformist and christian bureaucrats and the Amsterdam Miners International are realising this growing radicalisation of the mineworkers in all countries. They therefore resort to new manoeuvres. One of these manoeuvres is the demand by the Executive Committee of the Amsterdam Miners' International, put forward at its last meeting in Geneva, that an international coal cartel be established to regulate coal production and control the international coal markets. This cartel is to be placed under the control of the Amsterdam trade union bureaucracy. It is expected by these measures to guarantee an adequate wage to the miners.

In addition, the reformists in the various countries are resorting to their special manoeuvres. In France, for instance, they demand an increase of the coal duties, which, they allege, would bring a release of the French miners from the crisis. The Belgian reformists raise similar demands.

In this situation of increased class antagonisms between the miners and the mineowners, of the new deceitful manoeuvres of the reformist and christian bureaucrats and of the Amsterdam Miners International, the **Congress of the European coal miners acquires particular importance.** The Congress is an international challenge to the bureaucracy of the Amsterdam Miners International. In this campaign for the European Congress the fraudulent manoeuvres of the reformist bureaucrats as well as the collapse of the theory and practice of the Amsterdam Miners International must be exposed to the miners in all countries. The objective situation is favourable for winning great numbers of miners who are still organised in the reformist or christian trade unions, for the revolutionary class struggle. Therefore, we must initiate a broad united front movement among the miners in all countries with a view to making the Congress a unity Congress of all European miners for the fight against the mining capitalists.

\* \* \*

Berlin, 25th January 1932.

A session of the International Miners Committee took place in Berlin on the 22nd and 23rd inst. Apart from the members of the International Secretariat, representatives of the Belgian and Scottish miners were present at the session. A telegram of the Miners Union of Asturia was read declaring its affiliation to the International Committee and welcoming the calling of an international miners congress. The session decided to hold the congress in question in **Saarbruecken.** An appeal to the international miners was adopted calling on them and their organisations, including the Christian and reformist unions, to send delegations to the congress.

## Death Sentence on Lithuanian Communist Confirmed.

The Supreme Court of Lithuania has rejected the appeal of the communist **Kasperaitis** against a sentence of death passed upon him in connection with the killing of an agent-provocateur. The death sentence has been confirmed.

# THE WHITE TERROR

## Increased Terror against Revolutionary Workers in Great Britain.

By R. Bishop (London).

As the capitalist crisis in Great Britain develops, so does the offensive against the working class intensify, both in the way of attacks on wages, benefits, social services and conditions, and by means of continued police terror.

Throughout the period of office of the Labour Government (May 1929—August 1931) the severity of sentences passed on workers, particularly for anti-militarist offences, continually grew, culminating in the passing of a sentence of 18 months hard labour on comrade **E. J. Thomas** for distributing leaflets at Aldershot to soldiers. Similar "crimes" had usually been met with a few months imprisonment. At the time 18 months imprisonment was the longest sentence passed in Britain for any offence of a political character since the war.

But since the formation of the **National Government** the police offensive has gained momentum rapidly. Actually two sentences of penal servitude have been passed, three years apiece for comrades **Allison**, General Secretary of the Minority Movement, and **Frank Priestley**, Business Manager of the **Daily Worker**, in connection with the Invergordon mutiny.

In addition to these vicious sentences, **Comrade Shepherd** has been sentenced to 20 months hard labour and **Comrade Frank Paterson** to 2 years hard labour, also in connection with Invergordon.

But these four cases are only a small proportion of the prosecutions instituted against workers by the National Government. Since its formation **over 800 workers** have been arrested for political offences or for participating in mass activity against the capitalist offensive.

The Means Test and the Anomalies Act have succeeded in reducing hundreds of thousands of workless men and women to the lowest depths of destitution, whilst the capitalist offensive against wages has steadily ground down the employed workers. The workers have not stood idly by while this has been going on and the last five months have seen demonstrations such as have not been witnessed in Britain since the days of the General Strike. On every occasion the police, foot and mounted, have turned out in the most provocative manner, seeking an opportunity to display their brutality and to use their batons on the workers.

The workers have invariably put up a magnificent resistance and whilst casualties have appeared in their ranks, the police have by no means got off scot free. In Manchester, in Glasgow, in Dundee, in Rochdale, in Blackburn, in Birmingham, in London, in the Rhondda Valley, in Cardiff, in the Durham mining villages—in fact in every industrial centre, workers have been arrested by the dozen at these demonstrations and once arrested have been sent to prison. In these cases, as in those connected with Invergordon, the sentences passed have been much more severe than previously: sentences of nine and twelve months hard labour have been common.

In their attempt to behead the movement, nationally and locally, of its leadership, the police have attempted the new move of charging the leaders of the movement with incitement to riot, in addition to the normal charges of "disorderly conduct", "assaulting the police" etc. Comrades **Hannington** and **Elias**, the leaders of the National Unemployed Workers Movement, were sent to jail prior to the General Election on these charges, and since then this move of the police in London has been widely copied in provincial centres.

Awaiting trial in **Wigan** today are five workers, each charged with individual acts of assault etc. against the police, but one of them, comrade **Farrell**, the local leader of the unemployed and with a big mass following, has four additional charges against him, namely that he "incited" each of the others to do the sets with which they are charged.

In **Rochdale**, when an unemployed demonstration was similarly dispersed last week, the police made repeated attempts to arrest comrade **Matthews**, the local organiser of the C.P. They failed because on three occasions the workers

present rescued him from their grip. Nine other workers were arrested, and when the workers appeared in court next day, the Chief Constable tried to make capital out of his failure to arrest comrade Matthews, by referring to him as "the leader of this mob, an elusive coward, for whom a warrant has been issued".

That same night, comrade Matthews appeared on the Market Square to address a meeting of 5,000 workers who were waiting. Immediately the police pounced and pulled him off the platform. A fierce fight developed around him, but eventually he and three more workers were arrested. Here again they were subject to the most brutal treatment in the police station, and appeared in court next day, badly cut about the face and head and bruised all over the body.

In Britain there is no such thing as political treatment for prisoners, except in Scotland—and even here it is rarely granted. The British jurists hypocritically claim that there is no such thing as a political offence in Britain—that there is complete political freedom, and that any offence is therefore criminal. It follows as a matter of course that the perpetrators of these "crimes" are treated as criminals.

But whilst the persecution grows daily, the resistance of the workers also grows. They see how in a thousand different ways the capitalist State aims at suppressing all militant expression of the resentment that they feel. The growing attempts to prevent the holding of meetings outside Labour Exchanges and factories has opened many eyes, whilst the increasing flood of prosecutions has opened many more.

The **International Labour Defence** in Britain is well on the way to becoming a mass movement. From mass meetings and from every kind of working class organisation—trade union branches, co-op guilds, even Labour Party and I.L.P. branches, comes in ever-growing volume the demand for the release of the prisoners.

The British workers in the present offensive are learning how to defend themselves and they are learning to look to the **Communist Party** as the only leadership that can win victory for them in the greater struggles that lie ahead.

## The Tampa Tobacco Workers Strike.

By A. Bosse (New York).

Eighty revolutionary tobacco workers are in jail, in Tampa, Florida, 18 of them charged with assault with intent to murder, and many facing deportation to their death in Cuba and other fascist countries of Latin America.

The liberal aid given to the striking Pennsylvania-Ohio-West Virginia miners by the cigar workers, and their subsequent organisation of the Tampa Tobacco Workers Industrial Union, affiliated to the Trade Union Unity League, then a two-minute stoppage in every factory on Nov. 7, with a celebration arranged for the evening at the Workers Centre frightened the manufacturers and their city government. They gathered the American Legion, deputy sheriffs, police, patriotic citizens' committees, etc., around the meeting hall to keep the workers from entering, and in the fight that resulted a policeman was shot, probably by one of his colleagues. A score of workers were jailed, 16 of them charged with assault with intent to murder (later 2 more were so charged).

A 72-hour political protest strike was called Nov. 27 that closed up the entire Latin section of the city. Five thousand strikers demonstrated, while 9,000 strikers from 17 shops demanded of the governor that the 16 framed workers be released, threatening a general strike. Another demand was the return of the readers (these are paid by the workers to read to them while they work, and were dismissed because they had read revolutionary literature). At the end of the strike the bosses declared a lockout. A meeting of 10,000 protested against the lockout and prepared to strike.

As soon as the strike started the bosses unleashed their terror. The union offices were raided and hundreds of dollars of strike funds stolen, all literature and records taken, and the strike and Communist Party leaders hunted and jailed. An injunction was handed down which tried to ban the unions as an organisation "advocating or encouraging belief in the destruction by force of organised government or in the destruction of private property as a means to that end". Another section prohibited the children of the strikers from

striking or demonstrating in solidarity with the strikers. Three thousand school children had broken through their teachers' lines and marched out of the schools singing the "Red Flag", picketing other schools and bringing them out. Even children in one parochial school joined despite the attempts of the nuns to hold them back.

Despite the storm of raids, terror and arrests the strikers picketed militantly, until practically every union and Communist Party leader had been arrested. This, together with the intense terror, insufficient relief, and certain political and strategical errors resulted in their being forced back to work with their demands lost and the militants blacklisted. Among the mistakes made were insufficient emphasis upon economic demands early in the strike (against wage cuts, speed up and other rationalisation measures, mass dismissals and unemployment, etc.) and neglect of the Negro and women workers, as well as of white native workers (the strikers were mainly Spanish-speaking). On the other hand tendencies toward Leftism were evident, such as anarcho-syndicalism, revolutionary phrase mongering, and over-emphasis upon the political protest strike to the neglect of economic demands.

The International Labour Defence, the Party and the union are conducting a campaign against the attempt to railroad the 18 prisoners for murder, to deport others, and to kill still others in the notorious Florida chaingangs. That the terror still goes on is shown by the sentencing to a year's imprisonment on a charge of "associating with Communists" of a 14-year old leader of the school strikers, Vesper Romero, son of a Mexican tobacco worker. After repeated attempts for weeks by the judge to get him to join the church and the Boy Scouts, the judge convicted him, but was forced by his bold exposure of the capitalist nature of the court to suspend the sentence.

## The First German Peasants Congress.

Berlin, 25th January 1932.

On January 22nd and 23rd the first German Peasants Congress took place in Berlin. 145 delegates were present from all parts of the country. Delegates from various peasant organisations were present. Only 25 of the delegates were members of the Social Democratic Party and 14 members of the Communist Party. The great majority of the delegates were poor peasants. Representatives of the Dutch, Italian, Hungarian, Irish and Danish peasant organisations were present as fraternal delegates. Austrian, Polish, Czechoslovakian and French peasant organisations had sent messages of greetings.

The secretary of the Preparatory Committee, **Bodo Uhse** opened the congress and dealt with the struggle of the peasants. He declared that the struggle of the peasants against oppressive taxation and in particular against the compulsory auctioning of peasant property to pay overdue taxes, had formed a movement of the poor and middle peasants. The movement had already carried out numerous successful actions in the rural districts. The strength of the movement could be seen from the fact that over 3000 peasant meetings formed the basis for the election of the delegates to the congress.

A peasant named **Dietrich** then delivered a speech in which he exhorted the independent peasants not to forget the interests of the landworkers, and to form a united front with them against the rich agrarians. A discussion then took place in which over 42 delegates took part. A number of delegations from various Berlin factories assured the peasants of the solidarity of the workers. The deputations were received with great applause.

The congress adopted a number of resolutions in favour of the distribution of the land to those who till it, against oppressive taxation, oppressive rents, etc., and against the agrarian policy of the Bruening government which is in the interests of the rich agrarians. A manifesto was adopted containing the demands of the poor and middle peasants. A national committee of 24 peasants was elected to carry on between the congresses and it was decided to affiliate to the European Peasant Committee. A representative of the Italian peasantry was welcomed with tremendous applause. The leader of the Christian peasants and the well-known peasant leader Bruno von Salomon also addressed the congress.



## Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg Campaign

# Comrade Stalin's Letter and the C. P. of Germany.

The "Rote Fahne" of January 8, 1932, published the following letter from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany:

There is no doubt that the letter from Comrade Stalin to the editors of the "Proletarskaya Revoluzia" is of great and decisive importance to the work of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in all spheres of socialist construction, as well as to the Communist International and all its Sections. The Communist Party of Germany welcomes Comrade Stalin's letter as a document which calls also upon the German Communists to wage a fierce struggle against all social-democratic influences within the revolutionary movement, against the remnants of Centrism and Luxemburgism within the Party.

The masked Trotskyist Slutzky maligns Lenin above all by falsifying his attitude and that of the Bolshevik Party to the various tendencies in the German social democracy before the war, including the later founders of the C.P. of Germany, the so-called Left Radicals of the pre-war social democracy. Comrade Stalin, in exposing this calumny against Lenin and clearly showing the international role of Bolshevism in the pre-war history of the international labour movement, thereby touches upon the most important problems of the history of our Party. Those who are familiar with the development of the Communist movement of Germany are at the same time aware, that at every stage of the development of our Party, a Leninist clarification of the history of the Party was inseparably bound up with the immediate tasks of the revolutionary movement, with the Bolshevizing of our Party and with the overcoming of the remnants of social democratic Centrism and Luxemburgism which still cling to the C.P. of Germany.

The founding of the Communist Party of Germany in the last days of December 1918, and therewith the final and complete break with the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany, the German party of Centrism, was a decisive step beyond the restrictions and limitations of the Left Radicals and of the Spartacus League, as indicated by Lenin in his criticism of the Junius pamphlet. When, in the year 1919, the C.P. of Germany (Spartacus League) conducted its fight against the syndicalist elements which later became the Communist Labour Party of Germany, it made its first step towards overcoming that Luxemburgian theory of the spontaneity of the masses and denial of the role of the Party, which had been among the most harmful semi-Menshevik errors of the German Lefts.

At the time of the Kapp Putsch in 1920, in the failure of the Party Committee (Thalheimer-Levi) and in the opportunist mistakes in offering a "loyal opposition" to an eventual government of the Independent Social Democratic Party, there was revealed how strong the social democratic influence still was in the Communist movement.

As a result of the splitting of the Independent social democratic party of Germany at the Halle Party Congress, when the Left wing went over to the C.P. of Germany, in addition to the best revolutionary workers going over to Communism, certain concealed remnants of centrist ideology (Däumig, Kurt Geyer, Adolf Hoffmann) found their way into the new mass party, and were only overcome with the help of the Comintern.

When, in the year 1921, the Right liquidators of the Levi group were defeated and simultaneously the reversed opportunism of Thalheimer's "offensive theory" was overcome, this inner dispute was at the same time a further step on the way to Bolshevism.

In the year 1923/24, after the October defeat, in the fight against the Brandlerist opportunists and the vacillating centre group, in the year 1925/26, in the fight against the Trotskyist opposition of Ruth Fischer-Maslov, Urbahns and Korsch, in the year 1928, in the extermination of the rotten Brandlerist enemies of the Party and the crushing of the conciliators, in the general struggle against the social democratic agents in the ranks of the Party of the revolutionary proletariat—it

was always a fight for the development of Bolshevism, a fight to overcome all the remnants of social-democratic ideology and its centrist variety, which was inherited by our Party from its Left radical (Luxemburgist) past.

The Communist Party of Germany, precisely in the fight against Brandlerism, ruthlessly exposed those weaknesses which were to be seen in the whole ideology and practice of the founders of our Party, of the Left Radicals gathered round Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring in the pre-war social democracy, in contrast to the Bolsheviks and the purposeful policy of Lenin.

Marx and Engels, on repeated occasions, clearly pointed out the necessity, especially for the German movement, of a split, i. e. of a break with the petty bourgeois agents within the proletarian party. Whilst the Bolsheviks, under Lenin's leadership, were the only party of the II. International which carried out this testament of the founders of scientific Socialism and of the modern labour movement, the German Left Radicals completely failed in regard to this decisive question.

This failure on the part of the German Left Radicals in regard to the question of a complete break with opportunism and Centrism had an adverse effect upon the whole course of the Spartacus League during the war. Its after-effects were to be seen in the vacillations and the actions of the various liquidatory and opportunist tendencies in the C.P. of Germany, and rendered difficult a clear fulfilment of the role of the Party. Thus this failure of the German Lefts became the greatest obstacle to the development and the victory of the revolutionary movement of the German proletariat.

All these facts emphasise the extraordinary importance which Comrade Stalin's letter possesses for the inner life of the German Party, for its Bolshevization, and thereby for the whole revolutionary education of the German working class.

Comrade Stalin's letter renders it incumbent upon us to show increased watchfulness against all attempts to smuggle anti-Leninist views into the revolutionary theory. It is necessary also for the C.P.G. to direct the fiercest fire against any conciliatory toleration, against any rotten liberalism which might allow entrance to or has allowed entrance to open or concealed opportunist or Trotskyist theories. This applies to the whole work on the theoretical front.

In the series of text books for the proletarian class struggle published by the International Arbeiterverglag, there is a book by Comrade Lenz on "proletarian policy". There we find the following passage:

**"It is true to say, that nearly all revolutionary Marxists, even Lenin, underestimated the extent of the reformist degeneration of the social democracy and the power of the reformist bureaucracy."**

This monstrous calumny of Lenin and this complete disdain of the role of Bolshevism must meet with the most outspoken repudiation and ruthless condemnation on the part of the Party.

Comrade Stalin, in his letter, opposes with Bolshevik thoroughness any tendency to substitute mere approval of resolutions for the real fight. He writes:

**"History has known not a few socialists who have been very willing to sign all sorts of revolutionary resolutions, in order to protect themselves from intrusive critics. But this has not meant that they have put these resolutions into practice."**

This passage from Comrade Stalin's letter also possesses great importance for the German Party. Comrade Thalmann's article in the November/December issue of the "International", and the decision of the Central Committee "Against the toleration of false views on the theoretical front", are therefore not only serious steps towards raising the ideological level of the Party, but thereby at the same time a directive to practical action for improving our whole work.

It therefore inevitably follows that it is impossible to draw a distinction between the inner ideological educational work of the Party, its fight against deviations and mistakes on the one side, and the development and increase of its fight



at the head of the masses against the blows of the bourgeoisie and its lackeys, on the other side. Those who wish to make such a distinction between securing the Party line and the practical action of the Party, those who reject or underestimate the inner-Party fight for the purity of the principles and policy of the revolutionary Party, violate the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The policy of the German bourgeoisie, the deceitful manoeuvre of social fascism with the so-called "Lesser evil" and the counter-revolutionary role of the "Left" branch of social democracy, the Socialist Labour Party of Seydewitz, make it the bounden duty of the Communist Party of Germany to create perfect clearness in the Party and among the masses regarding the class line of the Party, its revolutionary strategy and tactics. Every Communist and every class-conscious worker must realise that the chief attack of revolutionary policy must be directed against the main social buttress of the bourgeoisie, the social democracy and its Left branch, in order to rally the proletariat in the camp of the revolutionary class struggle. Without this clearness a successful fight of the Party and of the proletariat against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is quite out of the question.

Complete clearness must prevail in our ranks regarding Trotskyism, which is not a "Left"-draped ideology, but a counter-revolutionary ideology in the service of the bourgeoisie, in the service of imperialist war-incitement against the Soviet Union, in the service of the capitalist blows against the proletariat.

Complete clearness must exist regarding the "Left" variety of social fascism, which, as a consistent development

of Centrism, is the most dangerous enemy of the working class. It must be thoroughly clear to the Party that the former "Left" S.P.G. leaders, by coming forward independently as a new party of Seydewitz and Rosenfeld, have become all the more dangerous to the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat.

Without this clearness in every nucleus of the Party up to the last member of the Party, of the Red Trade Union Opposition and other revolutionary mass organisations, we shall never be able to conduct a real revolutionary united front policy, free from opportunist deviations and sectarian isolation, in the service of the revolutionary mass fight against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Without this clearness we shall never successfully carry out the policy of our own class, and thereby be able to solve the central strategic main task: the winning of the majority of the proletariat for Communism!

In raising and defending the banner of militant Marxism-Leninism against all deviations and errors and against any rotten liberalism, we at the same time develop the struggle of the working class and of the working population marching under the hegemony of the proletariat, against the attacks of the bourgeoisie.

In indefatigably organising and strengthening in the masses the resistance to fascist reaction, the resistance to the starvation-offensive of the bourgeois dictatorship and its social fascist confederates, and also against terror and strike-breaking of Hitler fascism, we at the same time unfurl the banner of fighting Bolshevism which waves at the head of the German and international proletariat in all its fights until final victory!

## **Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union**

# **Open Letter from the Workers, Specialists and Employees of the Stalingrad Tractor Works to Comrade Stalin.**

Comrade Stalin,

Six months ago the bourgeois newspapers wrote regarding us: "In view of the fiasco of the Stalingrad tractor works, the Soviet Union is again obliged to purchase tractors from abroad, and perhaps foreign countries will refuse to deliver them to us to wreck the Five-Year Plan" (Canadian Farmers' Magazine.)

The social-fascist Berlin "Vorwärts", the American journal "Tractors and Agricultural Machines" and many other capitalist newspapers wrote words to the same effect.

We were confronted with the task—clearly indicated by the Party and its Central Committee—of making use of the American experiences in order "ourselves to become specialists, to become masters of production".

We had to acquire the science and the technique of work on the conveyor system. We had but a few months to learn that which America acquired as a result of decades of experience.

We have successfully solved this task as a result of a persistent struggle lasting eighteen months. How we have solved this task is shown by the following figures relating to tractor production:

July 1930 . . . . .	5 tractors
January 1931 . . . . .	602 tractors
December 1931 . . . . .	2725 tractors

**We are now producing 120 machines a day, and by the time of the 17th Party Conference we shall increase this number to 125.**

The enemies of the Soviet Union have magnified and exaggerated our mistakes and failures. And just as at the time of the civil war they "calculated" the day of the collapse of the Soviet Union, so at the time of our difficult struggle to set new factories going they also engaged in "prophecies"; they wrote that our factories would not furnish any products, that they would not last even a few weeks.

But their hopes have proved illusory. The Stalingrad Tractor Works have already turned out more than 20,000 machines. We are rendering the factory free from dependence on foreign countries. **We have learnt to produce three-quarters of the complicated foreign instruments ourselves.**

Our neighbours—the workers of the "Red October" factory—have learnt how to produce high-grade metals. **The Soviet tractor is made entirely of Soviet steel.**

We have not forgotten for a moment the historical task of the working class: not only to catch up with but to surpass capitalist technique. Our specialists are now working on a plan to adapt our tractors to the consumption of heavy combustibles; to motors without compressors. The Diesel-tractor will place the latest achievements of American technique in the production of tractors in the shade, and in the tractor garage of the Stalingrad factory alone bring about a **saving of fuel to the value of 100 million roubles a year.**

The experience in the setting going of our factory has played a tremendous role in establishing new branches of production in the Soviet Union. In particular the Kharkov tractor works took much less time than we did to commence producing tractors.

How have we achieved the most decisive successes in the struggle to set the new factory going? Why was it that in the first six months of 1931 our factory turned out only 5,722 tractors, whilst in the second six months our output was 12,686 tractors?

In February 1931, the most difficult period in the life of our factory, the machines produced much less than they ought to have produced. We did not succeed in mastering the technique of exact production.

It was then that you made your speech at the All-Union Conference of workers in socialist industry. In it you pointed to the most important links: "The Bolsheviki must master technique; it is time that the Bolsheviki become specialists. In the period of reconstruction technique decides everything."

The six conditions laid down in your second speech: "New conditions—new tasks", taught us how technique and the science of production is to be mastered; how we can become masters of production.

What were our mistakes? We had the most ardent desire to work properly; we had at our disposal a wonderful machine equipment, and nevertheless we did not fulfil our programme. Desire alone proved to be insufficient. We had to **add to it knowledge, new methods of work.**

We attempted much, but none of us knew exactly what his duty was. Machines were lacking responsible masters. Machines were laid idle by the dozen; the process of production of accessories was held up. Tools were passed round from hand to hand, with the result that they were continually broken. In the moulding department accessories were moulded, cast, and polished, and then they were again thrown on the scrap heap. 90 per cent. of the production of the moulding department had to be scrapped.

On paper, we had an uninterrupted working process. It led to a lack of personal responsibility. We uninterruptedly changed people at the machines and the conveyor; nobody was responsible for the machines or for the instruments. No wonder, therefore, that in February alone 900 machines were damaged. The conveyor did not receive the accessories provided in the Plan.

In the struggle for tractors we underestimated the importance of housing and of the cultural and living conditions of the workers. We were content that at the time of the opening of our factory a new settlement with water supply, central heating and drainage had been built. We had built the factory school. But we troubled far too little about the cultural and living conditions of the workers. We overlooked the tremendous growth in the requirements of the working class. The army of tractor workers increased, and the settlement, the co-operative, communal economy, cultural work did not keep pace with this growth.

**In the new factory, under new conditions, we continued to work in the old style.** We thought that the only new factor in the tractor factory was the machines, and that it sufficed to set people to work at the foreign machines and then everything would go quite smoothly.

We had to readjust ourselves, and we began to readjust ourselves in accordance with your instructions.

It was necessary: **"to recruit labour power in an organised way by means of contracts with the collective farms and through mechanised labour"**. We helped the collective farms under our patronage to mechanise and better to organise work, whereby workers were set free on the collective farms. We took these collective farm peasants into our factory, instructed them in the factory schools and systematically distributed them among different departments.

We required 9,000 workers for building work and had only 2,000. Thanks to the mechanisation of building work, the plan of industrial construction was carried out 101 per cent. We are now working on a conveyor system for transporting machine parts from the moulding department and the smiths shop, thereby setting free hundreds of workers who are employed on the hard work of transporting these machine parts. We are building children's creches and kindergartens in order to free the women from house work, and by this means we have drawn 350 wives of workers into production.

It was necessary: **"to put an end to the fluctuation of labour power, to abolish equalitarianism, to organise wages properly and to improve the living conditions of the workers."** We commenced by doing away with the old wage system. We have not only exposed the lie that with the conveyor system it is not necessary to pay wages according to the work performed, but have proved the tremendous advantages of such a wage system.

In March 1931, a smith earned on an average 112 roubles a month; in December 250 roubles. In April, a moulder earned 98 roubles, in December 177 roubles a month. A qualified tool-maker earns 350 to 400 roubles a month.

We took up the fight against equalitarianism. Could we tolerate that only 1 per cent. of the workers were paid according to work performed? Could the factory produce tractors when the slackers hid behind the backs of the shock-brigaders? Before all we introduced payment according to work performed at the "weak points".

"Left" equalitarianism was done away with; payment by the hour disappeared. 75 per cent. of the workers are now paid according to their output. Now the workers in our factory are receiving wages which correspond to the work done by them.

Our earnings have increased. Our requirements have also increased. In what way have the cultural and living conditions of the workers improved? We have a model factory restaurant, and are now considerably better fed than last year. The factory restaurant serves 37,000 dinners a day.

Our co-operative also began to adjust itself to the new requirements. Shops for shock-brigaders, two shops for engineers and technicians were opened; the whole network of distributing stores was extended. Only recently, the best

dispensary in the district was opened, at which 100 doctors are now employed. We have opened a school for 2,500 children, where they are taught for seven years. We have a cinema with an attendance of 6,000 a day. In the next few months a club for 3,000 persons and a circus with accommodation for an audience of 4,000 will be finished. The physical culture movement has made great headway. The number of workers engaging in physical culture amounted in December 1930 to 150. Their number has now increased to 6,000. The housing estate is not ready by a long way yet, but in spite of many deficiencies we are able to record a great improvement here. Thousands of trees have been planted, new gardens laid out, a part of the pavements asphalted. Connection with the town has greatly improved.

All this tends to put an end to the fluctuation of labour power. The main cadres of workers are firmly rooted in the factory.

It was necessary: **"to put an end to de-personalisation, to improve labour organisation and to secure the proper employment of labour power."** In place of the uninterrupted labour process which existed only on paper, we introduced the interrupted six-day week. Every mechanism, every aggregate has been placed in charge of a definite worker or foreman, who is responsible for his machine. This has led to a considerable decline in the breaking of machinery. In the wheel department, on the conveyor of the moulding department, in the heavy and light smith, the productivity of labour has increased 100 per cent. and more, not only because payment according to output has been introduced but also because the workers know their exact place of work and have learnt the work of their machines.

It was necessary: **"to see to it that the working class of the Soviet Union has its own industrial and technical intelligentsia"**. 68 per cent. of the engineers and technicians of our factory have passed through the Soviet high schools. A third of our leading cadres are Communists and Komsomolzes. Workers and children of workers who have passed through the technical schools are teaching us the organisation of work on the conveyor. We have also made efficient organisers and managers of production out of young specialists. The head of the smith is a young Communist engineer, Scheimann. Young specialists—Comrades Pantchurin, Poretzky, Malysh, Fomin, Kusmin, Kukso, Sassanov and others—occupy leading positions in the factory departments and in the factory administration.

This shows that the Bolsheviks are successfully mastering technique and creating their own industrial and technical intelligentsia. We need specialists not only for the Stalingrad tractor works, but also for dozens of new giants. Our workers need to raise their qualifications, they must be equipped with technical knowledge. For the solution of this task we have a technical high school in which 75 per cent. of the students are workers, or children of workers. We have a factory school with 2,500 pupils. 2,400 shock-brigaders are attending the evening university.

It was necessary: **"to change our attitude toward the engineers and technicians of the old school, to show them greater attention and solicitude, to display more boldness in inviting their co-operation"**. Although for the most part we have young engineers and technicians, we have also a small number of engineers and technicians of the old school. We even have a group of technicians who in the past committed serious crimes against the Soviet power. We are helping them to make good their crimes against the working class and to show by active and energetic work that they are now entirely on the side of the Soviet power. And we have numerous examples where many of them, inspired by the working enthusiasm of the workers, engineers and technicians, have furnished model examples of devoted and self-sacrificing work. Our technical-engineering section has received as a reward of merit the Red flag of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union.

It was necessary: **"to introduce business methods and apply with greater care and to increase the accumulation of capital within industry itself"**. The moulders were the first to carry out these instructions. They have introduced business methods in all departments. In the first month in which the moulding department worked according to business methods, it saved the factory 30,000 roubles.

On the basis of the experiences of the moulders we have introduced business methods in all departments and workshops of our factory. Now the tractor factory in general is working according to business methods. There exist in the factory

326 brigades for business accountancy, with 7,000 shock-brigaders. Every brigade has concluded a contract with the management and is endeavouring to fulfil it.

The improvement in the running of the factory is best reflected in the reduction of prime costs. In the course of a year the prime costs of the tractors were reduced by 50 per cent. The moulders in particular have achieved great successes. In January 1931, a ton of malleable castings cost 4,237 roubles; in November it cost 1,318 roubles. In ten months the cost of solid castings has been reduced by half.

At the head of our staff there stands the Party organisation with 4,000 members. The Communists, Komsomols, furnish an example of Bolshevik struggle for technique; they are teaching us to work in a new way. In the fight to master technique, for the six conditions of work in a new manner, the Young Communist organisation of our factory has grown to 7,000 members. It is the best assistant of the Party organisation in the fight for tractors.

We have put an end to the old opportunist practice in trade union work.

Our victories are the victories of the whole Party, of the whole of the working class. We have been victorious because our leaders were the Leninist Central Committee, the Supreme Economic Council, with Comrade Orkhonikidse at the head; we have been victorious because the Putilov workers, the Bolshevik "Pravda", the Central Council of the trade unions and the C.C. of the Young Leninist League have helped us.

The basis of our work is Bolshevik irreconcilability towards deviations from the general line of the Party. We have fought ruthlessly against the Right and Left opportunists who strove to drag back the Party.

We promise the Party, the country, to guarantee a production of 144 tractors a day by the 1st of May, and in the year 1932 to turn out 40,000 tractors, 2,000 motors for mowing and threshing machines, and 55 machines which supply spare parts. The year 1932 will be a year of persistent fight for the model tractor, for improving the quality of our economic and social work. We undertake in the year 1932 to build a second seven-year factory school, to provide the staff of workers at the tractor works with model dwellings, to complete the House of Technique, to liquidate technical ignorance and to convert our settlement into a model housing estate in every respect.

The feasibility of our programme—that is the work on new lines on the part of the factory management and on the part of our triangle, especially of the director Comrade Pudalow and the secretary of the Party Committee Comrade Tregubenkov; that is the fighting task of our paper "Dayosh Tractor".

The realisability of our promise lies in the work of Comrades Scheimann, Korsunov, Wershinsky, Walter, Patchenkov, Malyshev, Lipkin, Teharko, Kulikov, Sobkov, Gross, Gulmann, Kujajev, Bystrov, Otchagovey, Stankevitch Klimov, Uskov, Rogosin and others—our best leaders whose names we have placed on the roll of honour of engineers and technicians of the Soviet Union.

At the time when the Moscow automobile factory and the Kharkov tractor works first commenced working, we received a letter from four American workers in Stockton (United States). They said in this letter:

"The factory in which formerly 1,600 workers were employed, is now quite deserted and forsaken; there is not a sign of life there, except that one hears the firemen pacing up and down. Six huge buildings whose hooters sounded two years ago, are now deserted; the machines have been removed. No productive work is carried on. Our chief, Harry Harvester, is bankrupt and is hopelessly in the clutches of his creditors . . ."

In America, the factories are closed, the machines removed, the workers thrown on to the streets. With us, one factory after another is being opened.

In the days of the civil war, you, along with Comrade Voroshilov, defended Zariczyn against the Whites. On the site where the tractor works now stand there took place a fierce fight with the white guards. The old Zariczyn no longer exists. In its place a tremendous industrial centre, Stalingrad, has arisen. Here the firstling of the Five-Year Plan, the Stalingrad factory, has arisen and is working.

## PROLETARIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT

### Decision of the Secretariat of the E. C. Y. C. I. on the Case of Comrade Oschi.

The Secretariat of the E.C.Y.C.I. emphatically condemns the anti-Party action of Comrade Oschi, member of the E.C.Y.C.I., consisting in the fact that he substituted the directives of the E.C.Y.C.I. to all Sections regarding the carrying out of the L.L.L. Campaign, by a document which distorted the fundamental political line of the E.C.Y.C.I.

The E.C.Y.C.I. declares that the deletions by Comrade Oschi of all the passages from the directives of the E.C.Y.C.I. on the L.L.L. Campaign, dealing with the mistakes of Rosa Luxemburg and of the Left pre-war social democrats, that the striking out of some explanations in connection with Comrade Stalin's letter to the editors of the "Proletarskaya Revoluzia", constitute in essence open Trotzkyist actions, assisting those who attempt "to smuggle in their anti-Leninist contraband, to slander the Bolsheviks and to falsify the history of the Bolshevik Party".

This action, which has nothing in common with the line of the E.C.Y.C.I. calling upon all sections of the Y.C.I., on the basis of Comrade Stalin's letter, to wage a struggle against rotten liberalism towards opportunism and to fight for a greater Bolshevisation of the ranks of the Y.C.I., is a reflection of the struggle waged by the opportunist elements in that they oppose the line of the E.C.Y.C.I. and of the E.C.C.I.

The Young Communist International as a whole as well as each of its Sections, are in duty bound, in particular in the preparation and the carrying out of the L.L.L. Campaign, to devote special attention to a thorough enlightenment of the masses of the youth on Comrade Stalin's letter, which is of great fundamental, political and practical importance to the development of the whole proletarian revolutionary movement.

Profound study of the principles of Marxism and Leninism, of the history of Bolshevism and its role in the international revolutionary movement, irreconcilable attitude to opportunist distortions and phenomena—both in theory and practice—, Bolshevik application of revolutionary theory in the daily struggle, are the necessary preconditions guaranteeing the success of Communist education of the Youth in the fight against the bourgeoisie and its main social buttress, social fascism, in the fight against the foremost shock-troop of the counter-revolution, Trotzkyism, and in the fight for the consolidation and the defence of the Soviet Union—the fatherland of the toiling and oppressed masses of the whole world.

Proceeding from these facts, the Secretariat is of the opinion that any opportunist underestimation of Comrade Stalin's letter, which confronts the revolutionary movement with the most urgent questions, that any attempt to prevent or to delay the mobilisation of the masses of the youth for the fight for Leninism, is bound to encounter determined resistance and ruthless exposure in the ranks of the Y.C.I.

The Secretariat of the E.C.Y.C.I. considers Comrade Oschi's declaration regarding the acknowledgment of his mistakes to be inadequate. It emphasises the correctness of the decisions of the German delegation to the E.C.Y.C.I., which condemned Comrade Oschi's mistakes and resolved to submit this matter to the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany for decision. The Secretariat decides to remove Comrade Oschi from work in the E.C.Y.C.I.

Secretariat of the E.C.Y.C.I.

29th, December 1931.

### Decision of the Presidium of the E.C.Y.C.I.

The decision adopted by the Secretariat of the E.C.Y.C.I. on December 29, 1931, regarding the anti-Party action of Comrade Oschi is approved and is to be published in the press.

Due note is taken of Comrade Oschi's declaration.

Presidium of the E.C.Y.C.I.

31st, December 1931.